The Politics of Belonging:

Cultural Identity Formation among Second Generation Canadians

SHARMILA PATEL

A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of
Master in Education

Graduate Program in Education
York University
Toronto, Ontario

April 2016

Abstract

Transnationalism complicates how we view citizenship, diasporas, nationality and engage in identity discourse. This study explores the fluidity of cultural identity through the narratives of six second generation Canadians of South Asian descent. The research examines how factors such as boundary events, monolithic views, liminal space, physical space and the intersection of gender, sexuality and race play a role in the formation of cultural identity among second generation Canadians. Their construction of liminal space defies the notion of culture as being static. Moreover, the illogical practice of applying specific traits, behaviours, subjectivities and signifiers to "race" are explored. This paper demonstrates the need to move towards a discourse that acknowledges and reflects the fluidity in cultural identities, thus moving away from essentialism.

Dedication

To my children.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my gratitude to my thesis supervisor, Professor Sarah Barrett, for her guidance, support and ongoing constructive feedback throughout my writing process. I would also like to thank Professor Roopa Desai Trilokekar for her constructive feedback and to Professor Amar Wahab for being part of my examining committee. Our rich discussion was enlightening and I thank you all for that opportunity. Moreover, thank you for your time and interest in my research.

Thank you to all my participants. It is through your experience that one can understand and acknowledge the world we live in. Thank you for taking the time to allow me to interview you. Your experiences are critical in understanding how second generation Canadians form their cultural identity.

I would like to thank my family for their patience, support and love. Thank you to my sister for our weekly runs and being so supportive and enthusiastic. A special thank you to my husband for continuously supporting my decisions, encouraging me and believing in me. And of course, I would like to say, thank you to my children for studying with me and being so enthusiastic about it.

Thank you,

Sharmila Patel

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter 1: Statement of the Problem

The purpose of this study is to explore how second generation Canadians of South Asian descent construct their cultural identity. Growing up I have always been intrigued by one's cultural identity. I was born and raised in Canada. My parents were born and raised in India and immigrated to Canada in the nineteen seventies. I was brought up with the same cultural values they grew up with but within a different context. Growing up I did not quite fit into the Canadian or Indian category and often grappled with how to create a balance between the two cultures while living in Canada. From this experience I have learned that our cultural identity is an important part of who we are, how we relate to others and how we interpret the world. It is through culture that individuals gain some sort of personal and social meaning for their existence (Kagawa-Singer and Chung, 1994). This can be acquired by "participating in the daily life" of a specific culture(s) (Kallen, 1995, p.20). One's cultural identity reflects how an individual understands their identity in regards to how they affiliate with particular groups/ culture(s). A person has many identities and cultural identity is just one of the many identities that make up an individual. Identity is used to construct and create an understanding of oneself for themselves and others. "It is always formed in relation to others… [and] out of historical processes" (Papastergiadis, 1998, p. 30-31). However, once a label is used to represent one's identity, it simultaneously limits one's identity (Yon, 2000). In this regard, cultural identity is complex, political, and contradictory (Yon, 2000; Hall, 2014). Hall (2014) states "we cannot speak for very long, with any exactness, about 'one experience, one identity', without acknowledging its other side - the ruptures and discontinuities" (p.225). Therefore, claiming an identity does not capture the individual as a whole. It is in fact partial and unresolved (Yon, 2000). These identities are fluid and cannot be captured singularly. Nevertheless, an understanding of one's cultural identity is needed for one's psychological and social well-being and self- esteem (Taylor

& Usborne, 2010). Understanding the fluidity in identity aids in understanding how it operates within society and oneself. Therefore, taking time to explore, negotiate and to be aware of one's cultural identity is crucial in understanding one's position(s) in society.

Transnationalism complicates nationalities and the diaspora communities (Yon, 2000). South Asian immigrants who move into North America have a solid understanding of the Indian culture before their migration. They tend to create their identity in their new country with a strong knowledge of the Indian culture (Bhatia, 2007). Second generation Canadians (children of immigrants who were born in Canada or came to Canada with their parents at a young age typically before adolescence) of South Asian descent tend to "[straddle] the cultural… divide" (Shariff, 2008). They are typically born and raised in Canada/ or brought to Canada at a young age and raised by immigrant parents. Therefore, they are brought up with South Asian values/ beliefs in a Canadian culture that sometimes has conflicting views. In this matter, second generation Canadians have been exposed to both cultures. Some are exposed to more than two cultures if they or the previous generations lived somewhere else such as Africa, the Caribbean, Fiji Islands etc. depending on the migratory journey of their elders. Essentially, they draw from two or more cultures, to negotiate/ understand their cultural identity. This hybrid space can be ambiguous because the cultural practice passed down to second generation Canadians may differ from the way their parents and ancestors practiced culture. As a result, this difference causes some people to feel their cultural practice is unauthentic. In this matter, one must ask what does it mean to be Indian? What is Canadian? What is African? etc. Globalization, transnationalism, migration, immigration etc. complicate the definition of nationality and the notion of belonging. This brings up questions such as, how does one begin to negotiate and integrate two or more cultures into one's life? where does one belong, how does one belong and how does one prove

one belongs? This study will explore how second generation Canadians of South Asian descent construct their cultural identities.

According to Statistics Canada the South Asian population is one of the largest visible minority groups in Canada (Ghosh, 2013; Shariff, 2008). Toronto alone has over half a million South Asians (Statistics Canada, 2006).   Thus understanding of their cultural identity formation is significant on many levels. This study will be valuable to psychologists, counsellors, educators and social scientists. Psychologists and counsellors need to be aware of the various types of cultural stress placed upon second generation Canadians of South Asian descent. They must be aware of the amount of pressure, guilt and struggles they face and how this affects their daily lives. Educators must be aware of the stressors that their students face and could use this study to comprehend what issues are at stake. They should be aware that one's cultural identity can affect one's learning and why specific content should be presented in the classroom. Finally, social scientists will be interested in this question because there are few scholarly papers that discuss the cultural identities of second generation Canadians who are of South Asian descent.

There are limited studies (Aycan, Z. & Kanungo, R. N., 1998; Ralson, 1997) on first generation Canadians (immigrants/ migrants who have lived in Canada for a long time) of South Asian descent and their cultural identity experiences. Likewise, there are fewer studies conducted on the cultural identity of second generation Canadians of South Asian descent. Furthermore, of those studies conducted there were few articles that provided both male and female perspectives. Most of these studies focused exclusively on the female's voice. Although, I completely understand that a female's narrative must be represented, voiced and acknowledged because they are oppressed and marginalized, I am still interested in the narratives of both genders. Moreover, in the studies, that did have both males and female participants, the personal

accounts published focused on females only. I wondered if this was because the males did not provide an expressive account or if cultural identity was not an issue for them. Finally, my research will include all participants that view themselves as South Asian even if their parents/grandparents have not lived/visited South Asia. There are even fewer scholarly papers that include those who encompass multiple cultures (South Asians whose ancestors or relatives lived in other countries/islands such as Africa/or Caribbean islands before arriving in Canada) and those who have close ties to South Asia (Beharry & Crozier, 2008). Furthermore, my qualitative study will provide a good base for those who would like to explore experiences of second generation Canadians and/ or further considerations of exploring subsequent generations.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

The purpose of this study is to explore how second generation Canadians of South Asian descent construct their cultural identity. The literature I reviewed had a few common themes, one of which was the need to find a space in which second generation Canadians can live (Ghosh, 2013; Gupta, 1997; Samuel, 2005; Sodhi, 2008). They had to choose certain aspects from two different cultures that represented who they were and how they wanted to live. Stress was another common theme that surfaced in various articles. There was the stress of being seen as a racialized subject, the stress of finding a niche to belong to and, the contested nature of what it means to be Canadian and Indian (Aujla, 2000; Gupta, 1997; James, 2003; Samuel, 2005). There are also the boundary events that cause one to continuously position and re-position oneself (Aujla, 2000; Rajiva, 2006). These events are usually initiated by one's "race" and/ or ethnicity and the signifiers attached to it. The socio- historical construction of the South Asian "race" and the various ethnicities (Punjab, Gujarati, Bengali, Goan etc.) that fall within this "race" will be explored. Furthermore, the intersection of gender and race has to be considered in one's cultural identity formation.

Liminal Space

Most of the literature surrounding this topic discusses the need for second generation Canadians to create and re-create a liminal space in order to live/ belong (Ghosh, 2013; Gupta, 1997; Samuel, 2005; Sodhi, 2008). Research participants discussed how in the private sphere they were socialized with their parents' South Asian culture and in the public sphere they were socialized with the Canadian way of life (Gupta, 1997). This disjunction, forced them to create a liminal space that would allow them to live harmoniously. This liminal space typically built

upon the discourse that already existed (Frost, 2010). In Frost's (2010) article "Being "Brown" in a Canadian Suburb" the brown boys (second generation Canadians of South Asian descent) created their own identity that drew upon their father's identities and of the "white's/ European's" identity in British Columbia. They refrained from labelling themselves as Sikhs or Indo –Canadians. Instead, they created the label "brown boys" to identify themselves. They were proud of this label because it simultaneously connotes an Indian and masculine identity that was representative of their generation (Frost, 2010). However, this label of their choosing has racial connotations attached to it. One's ethnicity (Punjab) has slowly been morphed into a monolithic whole (South Asian, Indo –Canadian etc.). This has then translated into one's skin colour (brown). In turn, one's skin colour signifies a race (Ghosh, 2013) and has racial traits attached to one's skin colour (Yon, 2000). This monolithic effect will be further explored in my paper.

In Gupta's (1997) article "What is Indian about you" Manpreet lived "Indian" in the private sphere and was "American" in the public sphere and learned to create a hybrid identity which morphed the two cultures together. This identity was filled with ambivalence, conflict and ambiguity but allowed her to live peacefully and happily with herself. Yon (2000) states such contradictions comes with the process of identity making. Nevertheless, her parents saw her as rebellious (American) and the Americans saw her as Indian (backward); clearly she did not completely fit into either culture. The participants in Gupta's (1997) article described their first generation parents as being bearers of the Indian culture. Their parents wanted them to abide by Indian cultural values. However, this placed Gupta's (1997) participants in an awkward position since they noticed the stark differences in Indian and American values. This contrast prompts first and second generation Canadians to "exhibit different levels of acculturation" (Sundar,

2008, p.271). Hall (2014) and Bhabha (2004) argue our identities do not fall into simple binaries; rather they fall within a liminal space (Bhabha, 2004) or along a scale (Hall, 2014). This space/ scale is where the complexities lie. Handa's (2003) research states this liminal space "involves the ruptures and contradictions between 'modern' and 'traditional' where young South Asians struggle to find an identity" that incorporates both cultures (p.5). Despite these events, Sundar's (2008) participants consider their hybridity to be advantageous as it enables them to be a part of more than one culture. Over time they learn how to shift and slide between various cultures to suit their needs.

Frosts' (2010) study concentrates solely on males and the topic of masculinity and the label "brown boys" is critical in her analysis. My study focuses on both males and females and the topic of masculinity was not discussed in my interviews. However, the connection from "race" (South Asian) to skin colour (brown) and the associated subjectivities that come with being "South Asian" are relevant to my study. This is important to note as it is common for South Asians to be identified as being "brown- skinned" individuals. In Frost's (2010) article, it was common for people, such as school administrators, to refer to South Asian males as the "brown boys". This paper will discuss how harmful this is for the South Asian "race". In addition, the complexity of liminal space demonstrated within Hall (2014), Frost (2010), Gupta (1997), Shariff (2008) and Bhabha's (2004) studies plays a significant role in discussing the formation of cultural identity in my research.

Cultural/ Identity Stress

Many articles point to the amount of stress, pressure and anxiety that comes from having a South Asian background both at a micro and macro level (Ghosh, 2013; Gupta, 1997; Samuel,

2005; Shariff, 2008; Sodhi, 2008; Rajiva, 2006). At a micro level, Shariff's (2008) research explains how having an ethnic name may produce anxiety, shame and stress in one's identity. For example, one male said every time he stated his name he had to spell it out, correct people on pronunciation to the point that it was bothersome. He knew he was different and was reminded of it every time someone mispronounced his name. Such incidents can impact one's identity. So much so that some participants in Shariff's (2008) study said it was easier to shorten or anglicize their name so they could fit in.

There is the stress and pressure of maintaining South Asian traditions and cultures (Gupta, 1997; Rajiva, 2006). Indulging in western practices was shunned especially if it conflicted with South Asian traditions.   In Rajiva's (2006) study, one participant said she and her parents would always fight about culture. They were constantly reminding her to behave like a Goan daughter. This entailed her to be good in school, avoid trouble, avoid going out, cook Goan food, stay within the Goan community etc. Rajiva (2006) pointed to the stressors of this because females were expected to uphold a culture (that tends to be collective in nature) that conflicts with the Canadian culture (that values individualism). Furthermore, she says the second generation was seen as symbols of the diaspora's future and were asked to maintain such traditions. One cannot ignore the salience of acknowledging how the intersection of ethnicity and gender affect cultural identity formation. Her participant was asked to behave like a Goan daughter that meant she had to learn the Goan culture and behave like a Goan female. Her cultural identity must encompass both ethnicity and gender as they go hand in hand. Although class and sexuality are not mentioned in this study, the intersections among race, ethnicity, sexuality, class, gender etc. are all pertinent in the formation of cultural identity.

Racialization

Many studies point to the stressors associated with being seen as a racialized subject (Gupta, 1997; James, 2003; Samuel, 2005). Some of James' (2003) participants mentioned that their skin colour resulted in racial discrimination, thus defining and limiting them. For example, Bina, was born in Canada, and saw herself as Canadian until she was subjected to racial slurs in Grade four. After grade six, the racism increased, students would taunt her by singing racist songs to her that did not fit her opinion of her identity. She came to learn that South Asians were depicted as unclean, smelly and were classified as being at the bottom of the racial hierarchy. The stress from all this caused her to retreat and falsely re-position herself as a Canadian Christian. Bina distanced herself from her cultural roots even in the private sphere so her peers/ classmates would accept her. She was under a tremendous amount of stress to lie and prove that she was not South Asian.

Monolithism

Scholars discussed the dangers of viewing South Asians as a monolithic whole (Ghosh, 2013). In a few personal accounts individuals were aware that society saw South Asians in a negative view. For instance, when a "South Asian" commits a terrorist act all other South Asians are seen as terrorists (Bhatia and Ram, 2009; Samuel, 2005). This stereotype then internalises in oneself and South Asians try to be more cautious of their behaviour so the general public will see South Asians as good.   In Frost's (2010) article, Rob took it upon himself to be politer when he was in front of "white/ European" people in an effort to rectify how South Asians were viewed. He wanted "whites/ Europeans" to know that not all "brown" people were violent and mean (Frost, 2010).   For individuals to bear that burden is stressful and affects how they are perceived

and how they behave thus affecting their identity. The very construction of the "race" South

Asian amalgamates the diversities among people as being homogeneous when in fact each

individual is unique and distinct. The notion that all South Asians are similar impacts identity.

Trying to categorize and define a group of people based on "race" is erroneous. One's "race"

cannot determine one's behaviour, attributes or characteristics (Smedley, 1998) as race has no

biological bearing (Hall, 1997).

Fanon (1992) reflects upon his black skin/ "race" as being a "dialectic between [his] body

and the world" (p.221). People judge "others", such as Fanon, based on their "race" which is

filled with stereotypes stemming from a socio-historical construction. Although Fanon does not

subscribe to these stereotypes he cannot ignore how he is being perceived by others thus

developing "race" consciousness (Fanon, 1992). This consciousness is debilitating as it follows

him everywhere. People in his society instantly see him as inferior because of his "black" skin/

"race". Since most of what is known about ourselves is from the environment and others (Burke

and Stets, 2003) in time it causes him to see himself through the eyes of others which

complicates how he sees himself. Simultaneously he knows he is equal to the "white/

Europeans". This "double consciousness" (Dubois, 1989) and the monolithic views above are all

relevant to understanding the experiences of my participants and how they form their cultural

identity.

Being "Othered"

People tend to live life without thinking about their identity or articulating who they are until a

comment is made that "others" the individual (Aujla, 2000; James, 2003; Rajiva, 2006). This

process of "othering" allows racialized subjects to feel de- humanized and depicts "Whites/

Europeans" as real humans (Moosavinia, 2011). Twines (as cited in Rajiva, 2006) refers to the concept of "boundary events" where boundaries are created so people begin to see themselves from being unracialized to racialized. For instance, Handa, Rajiva's (2006) participant, is in high school and sees herself as normal, just like her peers, until someone calls her a "Paki." Everyone watches her and she feels like an intruder. She now knows people see her as a "Paki" and not as a Canadian (Rajiva, 2006). The word "Paki" is a derogatory term used against South Asians. People who fit the stereotypical traits of South Asians and those who claim an ethnicity that falls under the "race" South Asian are automatically devalued solely on the premise of being South Asian. The historical perception of South Asians continues to exist and "others" South Asians. These incidents force them to re-evaluate who they are and to think about how others see them. The signifiers attached to her "race" and the socio- historical construction of her "race" automatically positions her as an outsider thus impacting how she may see herself. Such events position South Asians as "others", thus affecting their identity formation. It can produce a double consciousness (Dubois, 1989); "A sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. [Where] one feels his two-ness" (Dubois, 1989, p. 5). For example, Handa feels and sees herself as normal. Others see her in a negative view. Her existence is a threat to others. However, she does not see herself as a threat. But through this boundary event, and those that may follow may eventually lead her to have a double consciousness as Dubois describes. She may see herself through the eyes of those who "other" her thus affecting how she constructs her cultural identity. She has her own opinion of who she is that is not racialized then she has a second view of herself which is racialized. She sees herself as being equal to others but yet she is not seen as an equal by others. In the same note, she does feel the "contempt and pity." This racial slur "Paki" is not

just a name but an indication that the South Asian "race" is inferior, therefore, they may be treated as subordinates in various aspects of life. This disparity creates a power struggle that in turn affects cultural identity.

All of the studies above are significant in understanding how culture, diaspora, and race affect one's cultural identity. The concept of liminal space from Hall (2014) and Bhabha's (2004) research is important in understanding the complexity and fluidity of culture. The ambiguity in defining Indian and Canadian culture demonstrates cultures meld, move and cannot be placed. The introduction of "race" and its function to represent a group of people of having similar traits has grave consequences. The historical perception of South Asians as being undesirable, a threat to Canada's homogeneity, inferior etc. affects how they are presently viewed and treated. There are various factors (boundary events, racial discourse, monolithism, double consciousness etc.) that impact how second generation Canadians construct their cultural identity.

Theoretical framework

Ethnicity and Race

This paper explores how globalization, immigration, transnationalism complicates the distinctions between culture, religion, language, race and nationality for the present generation and the subsequent generations. When culture(s), religion(s), language(s) etc. share a space in a new country, it melds with the new culture. People then negotiate how they want to live their life. Although the concepts of nationality, race, ethnicity, and citizenship are distinct, these concepts overlap and change within diasporic discourse. For example, when exploring the term ethnicity in my study, participants who were able to trace back their parents'/ grandparents'

place of birth and where they habituated within India, identified their ethnicity as Punjabi,

Gujarati, Bengali etc. Participants who could not trace their ancestry to specific states in India

labelled their ethnicity as Indian and/ or used their parents' birthplace (Trinidad).

"Race" is a well-known, well used term and is used to distinguish and represent a mass

group of people who have originated from a particular geographical region. To illustrate

categories have been created to represent those from India, Bangladesh, Pakistan etc. as being

part of the South Asian "race". The term "race" was socially constructed to classify and order

humans who resided in different continents. During the nineteenth century, European scholars

began to rank people based on physical types and used science to understand their differences.

They concluded that "whites/ Europeans" were far more intelligent, civilized and superior than

non-Europeans (Smedley, 1993; Banton, 1987). The ranking of this classification was dangerous

because it now introduced a system of power and exclusion (Hall, 1997). This categorization of

"race" is used to identify a person's attributes, personality, culture, disposition etc. Therefore,

placing and attributing such labels among all South Asians is misleading and disastrous both at a

micro and macro level. For instance, a recent terrorist attack in Paris, France orchestrated by an

Islamic Group (ISIS) on November 13, 2015 affected all Muslims across the world (Dalhburg,

2015). For instance, Islamophobia crimes arose after the terrorist attack. In Toronto, Canada,

two innocent Muslim women were harassed and called terrorists in the subway because they

were wearing a hijab (which is a signifier of being Muslim) (CBC News, 2015). There were

similar types of crimes reported in Europe (Dawn News, 2015). Questions arise after

juxtaposing such events: Why did these individuals target these Muslim women who have no ties

to terrorist groups? What role does the media and technology play in such events? What

similarities do these women and the terrorists have? Are the perpetrators punishing them because

they associate them with the ISIS group? We must unpack these monolithic notions in order to understand how they operate in our society.

For the purposes of my study, I will use "race" in quotations because it is a socio-historical construct and it attaches itself to the myth that certain "races" are more biologically inclined to be of a particular disposition, follow a particular culture, language, religion etc. Furthermore, although I know the distinction among terms such as ethnicity, nationality, culture, race etc. they do conflate within identity and race discourse in society and among my participants; therefore, my paper too will reflect this. In racial discourse, one's "race" can be assumed through signifiers such as one's skin colour, clothing, behaviours, physical traits etc. therefore, when my participants mention skin colour, clothing, behaviour etc. as being a determining factor in being "othered", it is not the actual signifier that "others" my participants but the "race" that the perceived signifier represents.

Culture

Culture defines how one lives one's life. It encompasses many things such as food, clothing, technology, habits, behaviours etc. Culture is not static, nor is it biological (Hall, 2014). None of us have the cultures that our ancestors had two centuries ago because culture is constantly changing (Smedley, 1998), yet stable (Hall, 2014). The culture that a child's ancestors/ parents are brought up in may not be the culture that the child experiences. There are changes/ shifts that take place over time such as new technology, political- and power- related-struggles that impact one's culture. For instance, Smedley (1998) states that historically various cultures have always interacted with one another and integrated certain cultural aspects from one culture into another. Therefore, it is difficult for culture to remain unaltered. For that reason,

what we deem to be Indian culture may in fact be a blend of other cultures. We must be cognisant of these natural and forced changes within cultures. With this in mind, it may be cumbersome for an individual to try to learn and/or discover the culture that their ancestors practiced (Smedley, 1998). Hall (2014) says searching for one's roots entails one's imagination to play a role in the reconstruction of history. Therefore, one's roots will always be unknown (Hall, 2014).

Kagawa-Singer and Chung (1994) say "culture is a tool that defines reality for its members" (p.198). It is through culture that individuals gain some sort of personal and social meaning for their existence (Kagawa-Singer and Chung, 1994). Culture is a learned trait (Smedley, 1998). Kallen (1995) states it is acquired by "participating in the daily life" of a specific culture(s) (p.20). However, even though members are part of a cultural group, they may not share in all the beliefs and practices of the group (James, 2003). Cultural practices/ beliefs are sifted through differently by various individuals. Therefore, culture is an on -going process (Yon, 2000) filled with "conflicting… ambiguous [and] dynamic … discourses… mediated by power" (James, 2003, p.28). This power plays a role in how an individual is positioned in the world. It is in this sense culture can be seen as a political struggle (Bhabha, 2004) where one is continuously negotiating the boundaries that exist (Yon, 2000). Furthermore, contradictions are present and a part of the identity discourse (Yon, 2000).

Culture and space can inform one's cultural identity. Derrida (1982) uses the term *differance* to demonstrate how people can be the same but different. For example, a person who immigrated to Canada from India differs from a person who immigrated to Germany. The culture (language, food, behaviour etc.) differs within Canada, India and Germany. These two immigrants are the same in that they share a common ancestry but different in how they live and

re- produce culture. For instance, the person who lives in Germany may be more inclined to be literate in German and accustomed to the German culture. This, in turn, affects how the individual sees themselves and may impact their cultural identity. Whereas the Canadian person may have a more Canadian influence, and be literate in English and/ or French. Here, we can see how diasporas differ among continents and how the culture of the "whites/ Europeans" must be factored into how diasporas live culture and re-produce it.

Culture is constantly changing to reflect the changes in people, cultures, technology, food, space and in general the way of life. Cultures from around the world are different and yet at times similar to one another. Culture is fluid and cannot be pinpointed. There are many different types of culture(s) among countries, states, villages, cities, provinces etc. It is a very broad concept and at times can be distinctive. When two or more cultures share a space there is a tendency for cultures to interact and change. Individuals consciously and unconsciously pick and choose aspects of a culture that suit them and the way they want to live their life. In doing so, some individuals are aware of how their culture, ethnicity, nationality, race, and religion may impact how they are perceived.

Cultural Identity

Papastergiadis (2000) pronounces that the turbulence of migration and globalization has forced one to think about identity. Bhabha (2004) extends this line of thinking by stating that we live in a period where we are preoccupied with the post era (post-modernism, post-colonialism etc.) and more aware of our subject positions and claims to identity. Within this paper I will attempt to convey the complexity and fluidity of cultural identity. Stuart Hall, a cultural theorist and sociologist, provides a deep seated view of the fluidity, history and power that lies within the

term cultural identity. Hall (2014) states our identity is in a constant state of interaction within ourselves and among others and is never complete. We are "'becoming' [and] 'being'" (Hall, 2014, p. 225) simultaneously. Our identities are fluid and "subject[ed] to the continuous 'play' of history, culture and power" (Hall, 2014, p. 225).   Space, history, culture, and politics all play a role in our cultural identity. Our cultural identity is formed by the way others perceive us thus affecting how we view and position ourselves (Hall, 2014). "The very act of naming one's [cultural] identity is also a moment of recognizing the limits of the name and of being open to the contests that naming produces" (Yon, 2000, p.59). Hall (2014) states cultural identity and representation go hand in hand once we say we are of "this" identity, we are representing oneself. Hall's (2014) research reveals:

> cultural identities are the points of identification, the unstable points of identification or suture, which are made, within the discourses of history and culture. Not an essence but a *positioning.* Hence, there is always a politics of identity, a politics of position, which has no absolute guarantee in an unproblematic, transcendental 'law of origin'. (p.226)

There is no guarantee in understanding or knowing a person based on their "race" and/ or ethnicity. One's "race" has no bearing on their behaviour, personality, traits, characters etc. therefore it is illogical for signifiers (hijab, skin colour etc.) and subjectivities (exotic, inferior, violent etc.) to arise when imagining a particular "race".

What is Canadian?

The label "Canadian" is ambiguous and filled with conflicting discourses. Aujla's (2000) article states that historically Canadians were seen as white, British, Anglo Saxon. The label "Canadian" was not affiliated with French Canadians or with First Nations, Metis and Inuit

people.   Furthermore, she argues, this perception still holds true today. For example, James is an immigrant from Scotland and says his identity is never questioned, because he is "white/ European" and has no accent. He says he fits into Canadian society easily because of his skin colour (James, 2003). Another "white/ European" participant said, if a Black or Chinese person said they were Canadian he would not accept it because they do not look Canadian (James, 2000, p. 153). This would insinuate that racialized people are not viewed as real Canadians by others. "Skin colour and ethnicity continue to act as markers of one's place of origin, markers which are used to ascertain traits and behaviours which are associated with certain 'races'" (Aujla, 2000, I am Canadian section, para. 3).

Canada's multicultural ideology states Canadians are those from ethnically diverse backgrounds. However, multigenerational South Asians have learned that they are not "really" Canadian (Sundar, 2008). People who were born and/or raised in Canada and are visible minorities have learned that they cannot say they are Canadian without someone saying "but where are you really from?" (Samuel, 2005; James, 2003; Aujula, 2000) and/ or "where are your ancestors from?" This question instantly positions them as an outsider (James, 2003) a position that individuals must remember and come to terms with; a message that implies that no matter how long you have been in Canada, you will always be seen as a foreigner (Rajiva, 2006). This racist discourse teaches Canadians that they are not "real Canadians" even though they were born/ raised in Canada, aid in the economy by paying taxes, working, volunteering etc. Such discourses have serious consequences and affects one's cultural identity.

From such experiences, individuals may learn to hyphenate Canadian or replace Canadian with another "race"/ ethnicity (Aujla, 2000). Nevertheless, Samuel (2005) says "we [should] challenge the 'not- so- subtle' ways… white [people] sanction their power and

privilege" (p.281). Furthermore, we must question and debunk some of the signifiers associated with being Canadian such as having white skin, no culture, no accent, eating Canadian food (James, 2003), enjoying winter, playing hockey and drinking beer (Rajiva, 2006). These signifiers further complicate the term "Canadian" as Canadians do have culture as do "whites/ Europeans." Second generation Canadians (of South Asian descent) do enjoy winter, drink beer etc. but are not considered Canadian (Rajiva, 2006). This analysis illustrates how signifiers change within specific contexts.

What is Indian?

Many scholars have inquired into the question, what is Indian, and have found that it is a "contested terrain" (Gupta, 1997). In Ghosh's (2013) paper, South Asian participants were asked "how can you tell if someone is Indian?" The responses were questioned by both the interviewer and interviewee due to the many contradictions in the answer. The participants were asked, "How do you know if someone is Indian?" One of the answers given was "having brown skin," however, another participant stated that some Indians are very light skinned and some darker shades of brown. They then had to think of other Indian signifiers, some of which were wearing traditional Indian dresses, having accents, having a collectivist approach, and eating Indian food. All of which were de-bunked because of its contested nature. This leads to the question why is it difficult to define the term Indian? What is really Indian? Can you be too Indian? Not Indian enough? What does it mean to preserve and maintain Indian culture? Yon (2000) states, the " 'de-territorialization' of culture" (p. 15) complicates the idea of nationality. Globalization, migration, cosmopolitism has impacted upon the meaning of nationality. Nationality is no longer bound to a particular geographical location. It moves with the people (Yon, 2000).

Historical thoughts, stereotypes, opinions and racism of and towards formerly colonized groups still exist in today's society but in a different form. Aujla (2000) illustrates this by stating that during the early 1900s the Canadian state dictated where South Asians could work and live. They were not able to vote until 1947. The media saw female South Asians as meek and inferior, exotic and fertile. Sikh males were portrayed as violent and dangerous to the nation. South Asians were viewed as dangerous and unwanted (Aujla, 2000). This image of South Asians still pervades and permeates today's society. Today, South Asians are still seen as invisible, passive, docile, illiterate, smelly, fertile, pitiful, and disgusting (Rajiva, 2006). South Asian males are viewed as fearful (Ghosh, 2013), wife beaters, gang bangers (Frost, 2010) and backward (Samuel, 2005). This racist discourse of South Asians existed in the 1900's and continues to persist today.

Monolithism

In the article, "Am I South Asian, Really?" Ghosh (2013) argues that creating the category "South Asian" can be seen as racist as it implies that all brown- skinned people are the same. Lumping countries such as Bangladesh, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and India promotes others to see South Asians as a monolithic whole. Moreover, the definition of South Asia varies among scholars as it includes and excludes certain countries such as Afghanistan, Nepal, Bhutan and Myanmar (Ghosh, 2013). Whereas Kurian (1991) argues, the term South Asian should also include people whose ancestors were from India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh. However, in reality each country is distinct. For example, India itself is extremely diverse. It is comprised of many states, cultures, languages, and religions. Due to this when South Asian immigrants come to Canada they do not understand why they fall into the South Asian category (Ghosh, 2013). For example, when they are in India, they will tell others what state/ city/village they are

from. However, in Canada they have learned that Canadians are not familiar with the various

Indian states so they will say they are from India or South Asia. This then allows for diasporas

to see themselves as a monolithic whole, which affects their identity as well. The danger in this

can also be seen when the 9/11 terrorist attacks on the New York twin towers occurred, society at

large, saw all brown skinned people (South Asians) as terrorists (Bhatia and Ram, 2009). The

attacks were in fact made by an Islamic militant group and society blamed South Asians who

wore turbans. This assumption fuelled various South Asian religious groups to attempt to

educate the public of the distinct differences among South Asians (Bhatia and Ram, 2009).

Unfortunately, the historical view of all brown- skinned people being the same still permeates

today's society even a decade after 9/11 (Finn, 2011). In Frost's (2010) study, South Asian

research participants stated that when an individual or group of South Asians behave

inappropriately it reflects poorly on all South Asians.

This emphasis in focusing on differences creates an invisible hierarchy where South

Asians are "othered" by the dominant culture. South Asians know they are not inferior but are

positioned as less than which can be dangerous. This can be seen in Hall's (2014) research:

It is one thing to position a subject or set of peoples as the Other of a dominant

discourse. It is quite another thing to subject them to that 'knowledge', not only

as a matter of imposed will and domination, by the power of inner compulsion

and subjective con-formation to the norm. (p. 226)

Over time, the praxis of racist discourse sets into the psyche of "others." Individuals are aware of

how others depict them and over time they learn to live with this discourse. In doing so racist

discourse continues to exist and can become the norm.

Space

Our identity is contingent upon the space we occupy. In Toronto, second generation Canadians will decide upon whether to "act" Indian or more Canadian depending on the situation and the people who occupy a space (Sundar, 2008). For example, when attending an Indian wedding, one will wear traditional Indian attire and will behave in a culturally appropriate Indian manner but will refrain from wearing traditional Indian clothing to a western event or work.

Space is quite complex and challenges the identity of second generation Canadians. In the following quote, Amir, a participant, in Sundar's (2008) article "To 'Brown It Up' or to 'Bring Down the Brown': Identity and Strategy in Second-Generation, South Asian-Canadian Youth" describes this complexity:

When I go somewhere else from here (in Canada), I don't think

about going to India or going wherever . . . I always think I want to

go back to Canada, because this is my home. But at the same time,

I'm not Canadian when I'm here. When I'm here, when you say

"Canadian," usually you're talking about . . . white people, and here

I'm brown. If people ask me here, "What are you"?, I'll be like "I'm

Indian." But if I go to the States, I'll say I'm Canadian. It's really

strange . . . When I'm here, it's weird . . . I would never say I'm *just*

Canadian. I'd say I'm Indian-Canadian, or South Asian-Canadian . . .

The hyphen is always there. When I'm somewhere else I'm just

Canadian. (Sundar, 2008, p. 262)

There is a discourse that will not allow him to say "I am Canadian" in Canada. This powerful discourse stems from racism. Here, we can see how Canada is a space loaded with a history of racism and its effects continues to present themselves today. How others perceive a person in a particular space can configure one's identity. Therefore, his cultural identity is made in "relation to place and displacement" (Yon, 2000, p. 1).

The understanding of nationality and culture is questioned through the process of globalization and transnationalism. Since culture is constantly transforming, it is difficult to define and pinpoint what is Indian and what is Canadian. There is no shared definition of what it means to be Indian and Canadian which further obscures things. As a consequence, our cultural identity becomes a positioning that does not remain static. What is more, the cultural identity of second generation Canadians is influenced by space, boundary events, monolithic views, religions, racial discourse etc. The social construction of "race" and its signifiers and subjectivities, the complexity in defining nationality and the fluidity of "race", culture and diaspora in multiple spaces will frame my analysis in Chapter 4, 5 and 6.

Chapter 3: Methodology

I embarked upon this research to gain a better understanding of what shapes the cultural identity of second generation Canadians (of South Asian descent). Second generation Canadians are exposed to more than one culture simultaneously at a young age whereas the previous generation experience cultures separately (Ghosh, 2013). These unique circumstances cause the first and second generation to construct their identities differently. The varying degree of racial and cultural experiences among the two generations impact current and future generations. For instance, it is important to note that research has seen a loss of language and / or ethnic identity changes among the first and third generation (Kalbach, 2003). Tee's (1996) research reflects the shifts that occur between first and second generation Canadians. For instance, first generation Canadians follow a more collective, traditional lifestyle and second generation Canadians begin to shift away from this. These shifts among second generation Canadians are of significance as it raises questions such as why is there is a loss of language skills, how does this impact subsequent generations? and what do these ethnic cultural changes mean? I want to interview second generation Canadians to gain insight into their lives, their practices, what they deemed important in regards to their identity and how they negotiate their cultural identities.

My research is qualitative in nature as I wanted to understand how participants interpreted their experiences. I am interested in the subjectivities, emotions, boundary events etc. that arise when constructing their cultural identity. I selected 6 (mixture of male and female) participants and conducted an in-depth study of the experiences of each participant individually. It was important to explore the narratives of both sexes. A qualitative approach allowed for a perception of the participant's life, experiences, and an understanding of the participant's "interpretations of [the] social reality that [participants] hold" (Merriam, 2002, p.272). I

gathered data by conducting in- depth semi- structured interviews. This method allowed me to receive an in-depth narrative account from each participant to piece together experiences/ events that shape their cultural identity. This process allowed me to "hear what the participant has to say in [their] own words, in [their] voice, with [their] language and narrative" (Lichtman, 2006, p.119). Moreover, the qualitative method allowed me to probe my subjects further if needed.

Research Participants and Setting

This study explores how second generation Canadians of South Asian descent construct their cultural identities. The appropriate "Human Participants Research" application was submitted to York University's Human Participants Research Committee for an ethics review. The committee reviewed the nature of my study and the expectations of my potential participants. Once I received approval from the committee I set out looking for both second and third generation Canadians but was unable to find third generation Canadians. Therefore, my study and interviews focused solely on second generation Canadians. I found my participants through the snowballing effect. I asked family, friends and used social media to provide me with contacts (Sundar, 2008). The criteria for the participants included (a) South Asian identification (b) Second and /or third generation Canadian (c) age of consent (18 years old). I provided potential participants with definitions for (a) and (b). I received either phone calls or emails from potential participants. Once I contacted them, I explained my research project, if they were interested, an interview was scheduled. In the end, I selected 6 participants (3 males and 3 females) to participate in my study (See Table 1). I wanted an equal amount of males and females because I was interested in obtaining equitable representations of both narratives. Two of my participants were born outside of Canada and resided in Canada before the age of nine. I wanted to focus on recruiting participants that are over the legal age of 18. I wanted mature

| Table 1 | | | | | | *Participant Background Information[1]* | | | |

Name	Sex	Age	Country of Birth	Citizen	Parents Country of Birth	Ancestry	Cultural Identity	Ethnicity	Religion
Amanjot	F	25-35	Canada	Canadian	India	Indian	Indian/ Canadian	Punjab	Sikh
Bhavini	F	45-55	Trinidad	Canadian	Trinidad	Indian	Indo-Caribbean	Trinidadian Indian	Spiritual
Jagruthi	F	45-55	India	Canadian	India	Indian	South Asian	Gujarati	Hindu
Dante	M	25-35	Canada	Canadian	Trinidad	Indian	Indian/ Canadian	Trinidadian Indian	Hindu
Jasdeep	M	35-45	Canada	Canadian	India	Indian	Indo-Canadian	Punjabi	Sikh
Mayur	M	35-45	Canada	Canadian	India	Indian	Indo-Canadian	Gujarati	Hindu

Table 1   *Participant Background Information*

---

[1] The data collected from my participants are reflected in this table.

participants who were able to participate in the study without parental consent. All of my

participants had employment and educational experiences in Canada thus providing a richer

narrative.

Data Gathering Procedures

The interviews took place in one of two locations (a quiet restaurant or in a home). The

participants were provided with my interview questions (refer to Appendix A) and the informed

consent form a week in advance so they knew what to expect. They were asked to read them and

decide if they were still interested in participating. Furthermore, they were able to review and

reflect upon the questions mentally. The interviews were conducted in English and were

approximately 40-80 minutes in length. The interview consisted of a variety of open- ended

questions (refer to Appendix A). I had the ability to probe and ask questions during the

interview.

I introduced myself and informed them of my research proposal. In this, I ensured that their

responses would be confidential and that pseudonyms will be used, in lieu of their real names,

for my paper. I asked for permission to audio-record the interview and nobody objected. I asked

them to read and sign the "Informed Consent" forms and answered any questions they had.

Furthermore, I took notes during the interview.

Data Analysis Procedures

Once an interview was completed, I transcribed the interview, in its entirety, then coded the

data for common themes. I then analyzed the transcript for re-occurring themes (Morrel and

Carrol, 2010). Then categorized, sub- categorized, and sorted the data. I wrote notes in the

margin and notes of participants who shared similar experiences in a book (Morrel and Carrol,

2010). Once all the interviews were transcribed and coded I then cross referenced all the transcripts with one another to look for commonalities again. Then I analysed my literature review and re-analysed the existing data. I started looking for personal experiences and factors that played an integral role in their identity formation. I re-read the transcripts multiple times for additional themes or information that I may have missed. I also re-read the transcripts to juxtapose multiple participant responses (Morrel and Carrol, 2010).

From the data gathered I grouped the codes based on reoccurring themes. Many of the themes overlapped with one another. My thesis draws upon the data collected through interviews conducted and my literature review. New themes were discovered through the process: The relevance of skin colour, intersectionality and religion. My participants could not talk about cultural identity without referencing colour consciousness, religion and how gender, "race", and sexuality intersect.

In the subsequent chapters (4, 5 and 6) the findings are discussed. Chapter 4 will discuss how "race" and its signifiers (in particular skin colour) brings about racialization and boundary events. Boundary events position and re- position people continuously thus their identities are always in production (Hall, 2014). These events and positionings affect how second generation Canadians form their cultural identity. Chapter 5 describes the stressors experienced, among four of my participants, in creating a liminal space. An exploration of how physical space, religion and the intersection of race, gender and sexuality inform one's cultural identity. Finally, chapter 6 will explore the effects globalization and migration has on the discourses of identity. The terms Indian and Canadian and the notion of nationality will be de-bunked. These identity discourses play a crucial role in how my participants form their cultural identity.

Chapter 4: "Race" and its subjectivities

The way we act toward "others" is shaped by the way we imagine "others" (Scarry, 1998, p. 40).

One's "race" plays an essential role in the formation of one's cultural identity. This chapter will explore the dangers of boundary events, monolithic notions, and "race" consciousness. Multiple subjectivities ignite when people see individuals with certain skin colours. One's skin colour can illicit images of "race", ethnicity, stereotypes and nationality. The narratives presented in this paper demonstrates how "race" invokes racial stereotypes and more importantly how skin colour can conflate with "race", ethnicity and nationality thus producing "race" consciousness and as a result informing one's cultural identity.

Boundary events

All of my participants stated that they experienced a boundary event in which they were "othered". They stated that they have been called a derogatory name and have been impacted by such racial slurs. Such comments made them conscious of how they were depicted by others. For some of the respondents the impact was so great that it followed them for years and impacted the formation of their cultural identity. For instance, one respondent stated:

> Well a lot of times when I was younger you know I was called a Paki…. and they would
> tell me to go back where I came from. People on the streets would call my dad a Paki
> ….because he wore a turban…. Sometimes, I got into fights when people called me and
> my friends a Paki. (Jasdeep, personal interview, July 5, 2015)

The racial label placed upon him is a clear indication that he was not accepted. This labeling categorized him as an "other" thus de-valuing him because of his "race". Ironically, Jasdeep was born and raised in Canada yet was told to go back to where he came from. Clearly, the "white/ European" people did not see him as Canadian. Interestingly, he states his father was called a "Paki" because of his turban, yet Jasdeep does not wear a turban and was still called a "Paki". Racial signifiers such as skin colour, religious articles, non- western clothing etc. are typically tied to specific "races".

All of my respondents had been called a "Paki" and stated that they did not know what the term meant at first. Once they understood it was a derogatory term for people from Pakistan they could not understand why they were referred to by this term since they were not from Pakistan. Eventually they clued in that it was a derogatory term; this was based on the tone of voice and facial expressions of others. They came to know that their skin colour lumped them along with other brown- skinned people. Others could not differentiate among groups of people who had brown skin. This monolithic viewpoint was a turning point for my respondents in understanding how people perceive individuals with brown skin. However, it is important to note that not all South Asians are brown- skinned. They have many different shades. At a young age some of my participants learned that "race is a primary identifier since it is often the first thing people react to, is permanent, and is always evident" (Sundar, 2008, p. 259) "superseding all other aspects of identity" (Smedley, 1998, p. 695). This certainly has an impact because these signifiers are attached to them and influence the way they are being read by others. Once these negative labels were placed in their heads they knew they were unfairly depicted, thus impacting their cultural identity.

Many of my participants described various boundary events in which they were constantly positioned and re-positioned. Four respondents discovered that they were not viewed as Indians when in fact they labelled themselves as such. For example, Dante mentioned that he was proud to be Indian before he entered the education system. During his time in school he noticed there was a hierarchy of races. This hierarchy was a power structure in which he was part of the lower rank. He learned he was accepted more when he stated that he was Trinidadian as opposed to Indian. He explains:

> For a while, I felt ashamed to be Indian growing up. I didn't want to identify with it because people were making fun of me for being my culture…I thought that it was less than the other cultures….[so] I tried to avoid saying that I was Indian. I tried to use my heritage from Trinidad. And say [that I wasn't Indian but Trinidadian] and that I was different. (personal interview, December 29, 2014)

He re-positioned himself as Trinidadian and moved away from his Indian positioning (and eventually stopped practicing Indian traditions) and told his peers he was Trinidadian. He found they were more accepting of him so he assumed this identity. The geographical region (Trinidad) that he identified with was known to be of African origins. Two of my participants stated many people attribute Trinidadians as being "black/ African" even though there is actually a large Indian and "black/ African" population that reside there. Bhavini relays:

> [People] didn't see Trinidad as being diverse… and I used to tell people I'm from Trinidad and 40% of the population is Indian origin and 40% is African origin [and] that was a shock. ..A lot of people saw Trinidadians as … African origin um they didn't see

the Indian origin… Chinese, Portuguese [and] there's some "white" so they didn't see

that. (personal interview, January 17, 2015)

In Yon's (2000) research a teacher described being "Black/ African-Canadian" as "in" and

"fashionable". He stated his "white/European" students wanted to be "black/ African" and acted

"black/ African" by using "black/ African" signifiers (wearing "black" clothing, listening to

"black" music) to represent their coolness (Yon, 2000). Yon (2000) states this may be because

being "black/ African" was more fluid than being a South Asian which was more of a rigid

category. Perhaps this is why Dante was better accepted when he used his Trinidadian heritage

as his cultural identity.

Conversely, when Dante was in the company of Indians, he re-inscribed his Indian

identity and said he was Indian however, they did not accept him as Indian. They would say

"he's not really Indian" (personal interview, December 29, 2014) when they spoke about him,

thus positioning him in a space where he did not belong. Their subjectivities about Trinidadians

being of African origins did not allow them to see Dante as Indian. This double boundary event

made him critically analyze his identity. Furthermore, he adds Indians would respond to him as

such:

They would say I was black even though I was brown skinned and lighter skinned then

some of [those people] ….They would consider me black or not Indian… They would

say oh [he's] not Indian he's from Trinidad. (personal interview, December 29, 2014)

Dante used his brown skin to represent his Indian-ness however his parents' birthplace

(Trinidad) further complicated his identity. His classmates used Dante's parents' birthplace to

determine that Dante was not "really" Indian. In defence, Dante states that his skin colour is not

black it is brown. To Dante, he knows within racial discourse his brown skin colour signifies Indian. Moreover, he stated his classmates have darker skin than him to imply that they are closer to black skin than him therefore they should not be stating that he is black and that they are Indian. His response discusses the irony in engaging in racial discourse. Skin colour and shades should not distinguish one's "race" (People within a "race" have a multitude of shades and colours. Brown skin has been attributed to other "races" as well such as South Americans.) Yet, it is a common signifier used in racial discourse to represent one's "race". In this situation Dante uses racial discourse to his advantage to prove his "race" even though he knows that skin colour cannot represent a "race".

Signifiers do change and in this moment and space brown skin no longer signified Indian (Yon, 2000). This fluidity within skin colour has been documented in Hall's (1997) research where he says it shifts and slides and is never permanent (p.2). They used his Trinidadian background to influence their stereotypical view of his identity. Drawing upon Derrida's (1982) notion of *differance* Dante and his classmates have a similar history and cultural origin. For instance, Dante and his parents were brought up in Trinidad and Canada with the Indian culture. Whereas, his classmates were brought up in Canada and their parents were brought up in India with the Indian culture. They are "both the same and different" (Hall, 2014, p. 227). Dante's classmates have difficulty understanding that "cultural identities… have histories… [that] undergo constant transformation …and are subject to continuous 'play', of history, culture, and power" (Hall, 2014, p. 225). Their exclusionary positioning prompted Dante to analyze his cultural identity. He said he grew up proud to be Indian and considered himself Indian even though neither he nor his parents had ever visited India. Dante made the following argument:

Even though they are [not] living in India they are Canadian now. For me I didn't

understand it because my great grandparents were from India. And their parents

are from India… so their kids won't be Indian according to their definition.

(personal interview, December 29, 2014)

He clearly articulates how migration/ place of birth/ immigration for any generation should not

signify a loss of cultural identity. Dante resolved that the nationality and/ or ethnic identity of

your ancestors should determine your nationality and/ or ethnic identity. In addition, the culture

he grew up with incorporated the traditions, religion, and culture that were passed down from his

elders and parents. Dante's lifestyle incorporates Trinidadian culture, Indian culture and

religion, and Canadian culture. Therefore, he is a blend of all three nationalities Indian,

Canadian and Trinidadian.

With this insight, he discarded the opinions of the Indians who positioned him as black.

He reasoned, his classmate's parents were born in India, therefore his Canadian born classmates

claimed an Indian identity. However, when their children are born, their current logic would

conclude that their children will not be Indian. This brings up an interesting question when his

classmates have children will they see them as Indian, Canadian, Indo-Canadian, non- Indians or

other? He takes it a step further by showing how each successive generation will not have a

parent/ grandparent who are born in India. What does this mean for 4th and 5th generation

Canadians of South Asian descent? Currently, his history shows his parents were born in

Trinidad and his great grandparents were born in India. Does this make him less Indian as his

classmates pointed out?

These constant positionings and re-positionings left him confused and affected his identity formation in a profound manner. The turmoil of being labeled a "Paki" and as a non-Indian, throughout the years forced him to re-position himself continuously in various situations. These experiences can threaten the identity by "constraining, demeaning or distorting youths' expressions" (Sundar, 2008, p. 254). Dante reveals "If you are having to hide who you are it causes you to lose confidence. You lose a part of who you are" (Personal interview, December 29, 2014). Such boundary events, positioning and re-positioning prompted him to question his cultural identity. A similar impact of racist discourse can be seen in other research (see, for example, James, 2013; Gupta, 1997; Rajiva, 2006; Samuel, 2005; Sundar, 2008).

The boundary events that Bhavini endured impacted her consciousness. She remembers being called a "Paki" and her efforts to negate that image by excelling in every subject area and extra-curricular activity in school so that she could be popular. She shares:

We were the only people of colour …in the town. In my school, I was the only person of colour throughout primary school and high school. So my experience I guess was one of maybe survival [and] wanting to fit in and wanting to be accepted. I had different ways of doing that …for instance in school I would make sure I was really good at sports, so I would fit in with the sports kids. I would make sure I was really smart and I would do really well in my courses so I would make sure I would fit in with the kids who did well… Then I would even be in theatre arts and all that so I fit in with the artsy group…. [I fit] in with a lot of different groups so I think that was a way to get through school. (personal interview, January 17, 2015)

Bhavini wanted to fit in for survival; she knew she stood out from the people in town. She wanted her peers to focus on her abilities/ personality and not her "race". So she worked hard to fit in and show others that she belonged in all aspects of the school culture by being academic, athletic, artsy etc. Bhavini conveys the impact of some of her boundary events as difficult:

> Growing up here and being aware of being different and being brown…. It just affects the way you walk through life. It's not like I can walk through life thinking I'm just like everyone else. It's a very different way I go through life here whereas when I'm in Trinidad…So I think it does impact your life. (personal interview, January 17, 2015)

The experiences some of my other respondents shared are similar to Fanon's (1992) experience where he articulates the "difficulties in the development of …body schema. Consciousness of the body is solely a negating activity. It is a third person consciousness. The body is surrounded by an atmosphere of certain uncertainty" (p. 221). Fanon (1992) discusses the development of a third-person consciousness and how his "race" and its signifiers (skin colour, physical traits, clothing etc.) "create a real dialectic between my body and the world" (p. 221). There is no escaping one's "race". This "race" has subjectivities (inferiority, unintelligent etc.) attached to it, thus affecting him detrimentally. My respondents had all experienced boundary events that were originally signalled by their "race". They were all aware of how their "race" elicited stereotypes that were not a part of them. However, others saw it as part of them.

Remarkably two of my respondents stated that they were called a "Paki", however, it did not impact their cultural identity at all. It just made them aware of how they were depicted by ignorant people. One respondent said:

It's funny growing up I never really knew what the word paki meant. And …now it's just a word, and I guess that's the thing if you can turn a derogative term into something that means nothing to you then it doesn't affect you. (Mayur, personal interview, January 10, 2015)

Mayur understood that "Paki" was a derogative term and its negative connotation impacted him as follows:

I think when I was younger I was very sensitive about the words and all that… now I realize instead of getting physical it's better to actually just use words you know. What if you can put holes in their argument, it just makes them look bad. That's all. (personal interview, January 10, 2015)

He realized it is better to ignore the insult than physically fight with someone. Furthermore, he felt people use this word because they themselves are ignorant. Therefore, he said he would much rather engage in a logical argument with the person so that he can show them how their logic does not make sense. However, looking at Fanon's (1992) life experiences Fanon realized that even with his own reasoning, the deep psychological view of racialized people still remained. Perhaps Mayur can reason with a few people but this reason eventually ends up having "contact with unreason" (Fanon, 1992, p. 225). Some people were aware of racism and told Fanon hopefully it will disappear. However, Fanon (1992) realized that he was detested not just by community members but by an entire "race". Therefore, it is possible that society has learned that "Paki" is an unacceptable word and should not be spoken of. Therefore, the racism shifts to being covert. For example, a person may not say "Paki" but their deep seated subjectivities of South Asians will still be present and can affect how they treat South Asians.

For instance, they may be more inclined to promote/ hire a person who is of the dominant "race" because they feel they are more suitable for a specific position than a non-dominant person. James' (2005) research found "those who engage in racism are doing so to keep their privileges intact, and those who experience it deny it in order to survive" (p.75). Personally, based on his comments, I feel Mayur's effort to ignore and reason with racism is a defense mechanism he uses to cope with the situation.

Monolithism

All of my participants experienced the monolithic view people had of them. They were fully aware that being brown- skinned subjected them to being lumped alongside other South Asians. This denies them the right to be seen as an individual. Furthermore, it subjects them to being viewed as a "Paki" and all of the stereotypes attributed to the word. This perception was evident when they were younger and continued to persist into adulthood. One respondent recollects a childhood memory "They called everyone "Paki". It didn't matter if you were East Indian, Pakistani, Guyanese...If you were brown you were being called a "Paki" (Amanjot, personal interview, February 28, 2015).

At a young age she knew that having brown- skin associated her with other distinct nationalities and ethnicities. This distinction was evident for Amanjot but not for the dominant "race". Spaces that are occupied by brown- skinned people were given a negative label. Amanjot apologetically says:

> Okay, I know it sounds horrible but we use to go shopping by these two buildings… It
> was called "Paki palace" that was the actual name, that's what they were known as. It
> was right beside a mosque and …a lot of Pakistanis coming straight from home go to the

mosque [then do their grocery shopping] and we [too would] go grocery shopping right

[there]. (Personal interview, February 28, 2015)

The name "Paki palace" came about because it was frequented by brown- skinned people (South

Asians) and possibly because it was positioned adjacent to the mosque. This space was

racialized and "othered" solely because it was occupied by South Asians. Lumping South

Asians as a monolithic whole is dangerous because individuals internalize this thus de-

humanizing South Asians.

Jasdeep demonstrates the dangers of monolithism on a macro level when describing the

effects that the 9/11 event had on his experience:[2]

I find with the recent developments with terrorism it's kind of hard to be brown.

Especially after 9/11 happened if you went somewhere and you have a beard growing or

you're wearing a turban people pick on you then…It happened a lot in New York City

and Sikhs were picked on because we look the same. I mean Muslims and Sikhs look

very similar there's not much difference. It's just that Sikhs wear a turban if they are

religious. We look similar so we do feel some discrimination here and there. You do feel

certain fights developing.   It's always been very challenging dealing with that

superficiality and judgement that people have (personal interview, January 9, 2015).

Jasdeep understands the monolithic view others have of brown- skinned people. The

ambivalence of his response can be seen when he states he feels discriminated against because he

is brown and seen as a possible terrorist. Yet in the same note he says that Muslims and Sikh's

---

[2] The 9/11 event refers to the September 11, 2001 attack when a group of Muslims hijacked two
planes and crashed them into New York's twin towers

look alike.   He knows how distinctly different Muslims and Sikhs are, yet at times he conforms to the racist discourse that surrounds him. These monolithic views set into the psyche of others through the praxis of racist discourse. My respondents are aware of the diversity within the South Asian population yet are still influenced by the dominant discourse. We can see how this negatively affects all South Asians.

The literature review revealed participants from Bhatia and Ram's (2009) research re-examined and re- constructed their acculturation status and identity after the 9/11 events. One Indian participant considered himself as "white" and had achieved a sense of belonging in America. However, after the 9/11 event, "whites/ Europeans" saw him as a potential terrorist. This event sparked many other racially motivated incidents. The American public viewed all visible South Asians as enemies. As a result, South Asians feared going out in public and said their sense of belonging to America was shattered. Furthermore, the "whites/ Europeans" did not know about the distinction among the South Asian diasporas. They misunderstood Sikh's wearing turbans as Muslim terrorists. This monolithic view of South Asians prior to and after 9/11 raised concerns among the South Asian community. The Sikhs that were being victimized had to organize a public relations campaign to educate the American public about the distinction among Sikhs and Muslims (Bhatia and Ram, 2009). Criminal acts orchestrated by a South Asian terrorist group, such as the 9/11 event, led to an increase in public anxiety against the more visibly different South Asians- the Muslims and the Sikhs (Ghosh, 2013). Jasdeep's anxiety demonstrates how others' perception of him informs his cultural identity. Their reaction and views of Indians caused South Asians to re-think their cultural identity and to re- negotiate their place in Canada. Their cultural identity is not stable; it is informed by others, history and events (Hall, 2014).

This event demonstrates the danger of not understanding the distinct nature of each human being. This racist classification system subjects innocent law- abiding citizens like Jasdeep to feel criminalized. The Sikh temple organized a campaign to teach Americans about the distinction among Sikhs and Muslims as a way to reduce hate crime. However, this too can be seen as problematic, although Sikhs and Muslims are quite distinct, the educational goal should have been that the actions of some Muslims should not be a depiction of all Muslims. Sadly, fifteen years later South Asians are still seen as potential terrorists (Finn, 2011). Jasdeep adds:

> Well that's the funny thing, about the whole terrorist diaspora… [When the movie] *Die Hard* came out …it's like you didn't look… or think of all Russians as terrorists… but now you see a movie about Osama Bin Laden and every brown guy is a terrorist...That whole racist mentality is still there. The stereotypes still persist. I mean not just that the stereotypes are persisting but they are actually being used against minorities (personal interview, January 9, 2015).

Jasdeep refers to a movie that had Russian actors portraying terrorists and how Russians are not portrayed as terrorists in society however brown people are. It is important to note that *"race"* is a socio- historical construct that is ingrained in society. McWhorter (2004) says:

> [Race] cannot be pinned down to a precise meaning or even to an imprecise one. Its meaning shifts whenever it is called upon to perform a different one of its many functions in the systems of power and knowledge of which it is a part. (p.52)

The 9/11 event and other similar events reified a signifier that portrayed all South Asians as violent. The imprints of colonialism re-surface when such events occur. Innocent South Asians

are targeted and assaulted because they are being stereotyped as terrorists simply because of their "race" (Samuel, 2005). Perhaps an increase in South Asian representation playing a variety of roles within the media can decrease the rigidity of the South Asian "race" as research suggests (Yon, 2000; Mahtani, 2001).

On a micro level monolithic views affect how one is perceived by others. Having brown skin in Canada affects how one views "race", skin colour and ethnicity. Jagruthi expresses how she feels:

> I think when you go into a room full of white people and you're the only South Asian woman there then I feel uncomfortable. ..You know you're different. When you're growing up [that's] what shapes you. You always have that at the back of your mind. [When] I'm walking [into] a room full of white people [I think] will they accept me, will they talk to me , would they be interested in me, or are they going to ask me where I'm from. [Will] they…assume I know something about the Hindu culture? Will they … ask me that question or I'll say I don't know everything about the culture, I just know a little bit. (personal interview, January 17, 2015)

Jagruthi demonstrates that her previous encounters with monolithic boundary events shaped her cultural identity and she is conscious of this history being present in her life. She indicates that her brown skin can elicit conversations related to the subjectivities it readily signifies: "race", ethnicity and knowledge of all things South Asian. Their assumption that she is knowledgeable of the Hindu culture and religion, positions her as the bearer/ knower of all things "South Asian." She points out that she knows and follows the Hindu religion and grew up with the Indian and Canadian culture. However, this should not insinuate that she knows everything about the

culture. From her statement "would they be interested in me, or are they going to ask me where I'm from" can be inferred that she wants to talk about topics other than her South Asian background. There is more to her personality than being Indian moreover, even though she is Indian that does not mean she thinks, acts or believes in practices that other Indians do (James, 2003).

Her experience matches the experience of one of Rajiva's (2006) participants where she states "people will make assumptions about your culture", and this demonstrates how "identity is bound up in a larger history of exclusion that characterizes the South Asian experience in Canada" (p. 173). Such experiences can mediate her present and future activity (Bhatia, 2007, p. 130). These comments position Jagruthi as an outsider. Furthermore, she is more inclined to think about herself in terms of her "race" because "others around [her] see [her] that way" (Sundar, 2008, p.259). Amanjot is aware of the monolithic attitudes of others and feels it is due to their ignorance and their lack of exposure to different cultures. She shares an example about her friend in high school:

> I guess …[I learned] so much [about the diversity in people] and [being] open minded…I found when I was in high school kids weren't really exposed to that. They were shocked. I know one girl, it blew me away … she thought brown people came from India. She didn't understand there were different countries. She [didn't know] about the Caribbean. I'm thinking in my head… how do you not know that? She just thought all brown people come from one country... If you're white you're just white… So stuff like that shocked me a little bit (Amanjot, personal interview, February 28, 2015).

Amanjot relays she was thankful for having exposure to various cultures and understanding the

differences among various groups of people. She attributes this to her parents and her

upbringing. Her parents grew up in Agra and Delhi, and were exposed to the Hindu culture. In

addition, her mother's employment in India exposed her to Christianity. She understood the

diversity among the states in India through their narratives. Her friend followed the dominant

racist discourse that allows for all brown- skinned individuals to be viewed as a monolithic

whole.

Signifiers

A surprising response that kept repeating itself within the interviews was the prevalence

of skin colour. Skin colour played a big role in the construction of their cultural identity. All of

my respondents were aware of how their skin colour was one of the biggest signifiers used in

determining their "race". The signifiers and subjectivities attached to their "race" affected how

they were treated and represented negatively:

> Thinking back to being a child, I didn't want to be brown- skinned I wanted to be
>
> white… and I wanted to have blonde hair. I wished I was white just so nobody would
>
> call me … a paki [and] nobody would call me names…People were calling me names
>
> because of my skin colour. [So]…I wouldn't have to face being different. (Jagruthi,
>
> personal interview, January 17, 2015)

The discriminatory remarks made about her skin colour affected her so immensely that she

wanted to be "White/European"; she wanted a different body with white skin. This reflects the

"dialectic between [her] body and world" (Fanon, 1992, p.221). The presence of her brown-skin

colour was very powerful in conjuring up stereotypes and multiple subjectivities about her

"race". Similar to Fanon's (1992) experience of being "black." He says "the evidence was there, unalterable. My blackness was there, dark and unarguable. And it tormented me, pursued me, disturbed me, angered me" (p. 225). One's "race" does matter and Fanon (1992) later speaks about its great presence in his world as "inescapable". He expresses that even as you tell people you are unique and an individual and they agree, they still associate you with specific "races" and all the stereotypes associated with it. The historical perception of specific "races" being inferior to the "white/ European race" continues to exist and positions "others". Jagruthi's experience of racism made her want to be part of the dominant "race" so she would no longer feel inferior.

This "othering" places them in a lower category than the dominant "race". They are seen as less than and have to prove themselves to others. Due to this, half of my respondents stated they have to work harder to be respected. Bhavini says:

> Throughout my work life,…not all the time but I do feel it…in terms of how much I'm respected and how much I have to work to gain people's respect. Yeah those are examples of [my skin] colour. (personal interview, January 17, 2015)

Dante concurs and adds:

> People at work, [they don't] say it to me directly, but [they say] people [who] come from all these other countries and they want to practice their own faith, their own religion, they should change and become Canadians because, they live in Canada now. I've only heard it from the dominant culture. (personal interview, December 29, 2014)

Even though Dante was born in Canada he is affected by the statement for the following reasons: he is seen as an outsider (not a real Canadian), and he observes a religion that is not part of the

dominant religion therefore such comments are demeaning to him. He has learned if you are not part of the dominant culture you are seen as less than. Therefore, you need to work harder to gain their respect and to show them that you are a hard working individual who deserves to be in this workplace. This is taxing on all levels.

The following respondent speaks to how her ethnic name reveals her "race" which is discriminated against thus having to work harder to gain access to employment. She shares her story of looking for employment with her best friend:

> [I was] treated unfairly …because of my name. My name is Jagruthi so going for a job [and] having my name [Jagruthi Ajmera] on the resume never got me the first interview. Whereas …my friend her name was Sandra Smith just to give you an example. We had the same resume, because we did it together, we went to the same school, same classes. [Yet] she would get the interview because her name was western and simple whereas my name was South Asian and a little bit difficult to pronounce. … so that says a lot. But in terms of discrimination for her, she was of black origin so when she did go for the interview they would see she was black and she would never get the job. That was always the case when we were going to apply for work. I always thought my name had some kind of impact on getting that first foot in the door. So then I just went with my name [Jag which is shorter] because its three letters. (personal interview, January 17, 2015)

Her ethnic name identified her "race". She understood her name impacted her chance of getting her foot in the door. Jagruthi felt she did not receive the interview because they could not pronounce her name whereas her friend who had the same resume and experience as her would

get the interviews. However, her friend who was "black" felt discriminated against because of the look her interviewer would give her. Her friend's "black/ African" "race" stood in the way of getting her a job.

These narratives confirm that participants know they are "others" and are seen as "others" and therefore treated as "others". The labels they are given and the stereotypes associated with it, places them at a disadvantage therefore they have to work harder to be respected. Fanon (1992) learned that even when a racialized person becomes a doctor, the doctor will always be labelled as "the Negro doctor" not as the doctor (p. 225). This is because "white/ European" people are just humans and do not "need to think critically about being white people because white is just the normal, natural way of being human" (McWhorter, 2004, p. 54). Fanon states that no matter how hard you try, how knowledgeable you are, your skin colour is the first thing they see and it de-values you (Fanon, 1992).

The participants of this study demonstrated an understanding of "race" consciousness Fanon (1992).   Their skin colour spoke for the participants before they could. The boundary events "othered" them thus injuring some of their minds and souls (as cited in Wolf, 1994, p. 1). It can be seen that "race" reflects others' ideology of South Asians and this ideology spills into the workplace as seen with Dante, Jagruthi and Bhavini. It affects their ability to be seen as equals thus making them work harder to be respected. Monolithism affects individuals on a micro and macro level. Being seen as a homogeneous whole affects "South Asians" because the stereotypes adhered to them affect their perception thus impacting their cultural identity formation. Jasdeep's narrative consciously and unconsciously conformed to the knowledge and beliefs of the dominant "race" (Hall, 2014, p. 226). Lumping South Asians together is dangerous and debilitating as society fails to see the unique qualities of an individual. All "South Asians"

were stereotyped as potential terrorists after the 9/11 event. Systemic racism plays a role in why

local organized campaigns used to educate citizens of racism did not deter people from having a

monolithic view nor did it help the public as a whole as this racist discourse still persists today.

Chapter 5: Shifting and Sliding within Space

"While academic distinctions are made between the concepts culture, race, ethnicity, and identity, the distinctions come undone in everyday discursive practices" (Yon, 2000, p.128).

Culture is abstract and can take on many forms. When two or more cultures share a space, there is a tendency to amalgamate them. Thus fragments of these cultures are practiced. In this process, some consciously negotiate how some aspects of specific cultures reflect their identity and some unconsciously take it on. This chapter will illustrate how culture cannot remain static. In amalgamating fragments of two or more cultures a new but similar culture is produced, re- produced and lived. In this culture people may see a shift and comment on this new reproduced culture as being unauthentic. Culture is constantly transforming and cannot remain static as gender, sexuality, globalization, transnationalism, space and time re-constructs and re-produces it. The pedagogy of these shifts and re-productions are fraught with tensions and will be explored in this chapter.

Cultural Stress

All of the respondents indicated that they experienced various types of stress surrounding the maintenance and practice of their culture. Ironically all of them explicitly stated they were happy with their current practices even though other people felt it was unauthentic thus imposing upon their views. For example, Jasdeep shares:

I have been treated differently by other Indians… They call me, what's that word, confused desi, ABCD [3], they think I'm confused, they think I'm not Indian enough, I don't speak the language, I don't wear the kurta everywhere I go… They kind of put me down and kind of make fun of me for that. (personal interview, January 8, 2015)

Jasdeep is happy with his lifestyle and does not feel a loss of culture as his acquaintances stated. In fact he boasts about the rich culture and history that he has. He enjoys "being a blend of both cultures. The best of the best. The ones who are successful, the ones who have blended. They have the best of the two. They benefit from having both." (personal interview, January 8, 2015)

Those with an essentialist notion of culture and religion shunned him. In their minds, they feel that being Indian means you need to speak the language and wear Indian clothing. Jasdeep does not fit their idea of what an Indian is. They want him to fit within a binary even though he is happy being in a liminal space. He adds:

It's an ongoing thing, even now I'm [still figuring things] out. I'm still growing up…I'm still learning as I go. I'm learning more about the Indian culture. I'm learning about Sikhism in general. I'm learning about even being Canadian. (personal interview, January 8, 2015)

Jasdeep demonstrates cultural identity is never complete. It is always in production (Hall, 2014). His learning of Canadian culture, Sikh culture and religion while residing in Canada is an ongoing process. These three areas are distinct yet blend at times. His shifting of multiple

---

[3] Children of Immigrants are labeled "ABCDs'—American-Born-Confused-Desis (natives)- Indians who are unsure and insecure about their identity. (Gupta,1997,p. 587)

identities resulted from "negotiating power relations within and outside [of his] Indian communities" (Gupta, 1997, p. 587).

Jagruthi upheld a view where she herself was worried about the loss of culture with each subsequent generation as a result of being in Canada. Simultaneously she states she has the best of both worlds. Her understanding of what occupies a space, its history and people reflects the knowledge and production of culture. She shares:

A lot of the Hindu ceremonies or traditions it's usually the older people who know [how to practice them]. For example [for] … wedding[s] …only the elder generation would know the songs and then the [next] generation ….would ask the elder[s]. [For example] my mom would ask my grandmother how does this song go? My grandmother would know. My mom didn't pass those songs to me … or how to perform …prayers so … that would be lost; how to pray and sing the prayers. So bits and pieces get lost. (personal interview, January 17, 2015)

Jagruthi stresses her sense of loss with each successive generation based on her own personal experiences of her grandparents, her mother, herself and her nephews. She has firsthand experience of the loss of culture and expressed this in many ways throughout the interview. This shift from generation to generation exhibits how culture cannot remain static (Smedley, 1998). Culture and tradition can be passed down but in a different form or may discontinue for various reasons. She explains:

I don't know if my nieces and nephews would carry it on, so it might be gone after the next generation which is sad…They won't have that enrichment that we had. They wouldn't know. Same with language Hindi was predominantly spoken in India. My mom

speaks Hindi but we don't speak Hindi, um we know bits of Gujarati but we can't write it. So that's lost… I've tried to learn to write it but I can't write it. There's really no need to write it because nobody writes it anymore. (personal interview, January 17, 2015)

Jagruthi also demonstrates her failed attempts at retaining the Gujarati language but realizes that in her effort to write Gujarati she knows it has no place in her immediate environment. In Canada, English is needed to communicate (orally, written, read). Her ability to speak, write or read Gujarati is not needed in her current lifestyle. Such awareness is profound in that there is a strong need for her to preserve culture however parts of the culture no longer fit in the space in which she lives. It is not practiced therefore begins to fade. Smedley (1998) states "none of us have the culture our ancestors had two centuries ago" because culture is constantly evolving (p.697). Therefore, there is no purity in specific cultures (Hall, 2014). This can be seen in Jagruthi's statement when she states her nephews will not have that enrichment that she had. She associates South Asian culture with enrichment however she states she had a rich upbringing in Canada. Ironically her upbringing did not allow her to be completely immersed in the same upbringing as her parents. Therefore, having an enriched life does not necessarily mean one has to be completely immersed in South Asian culture. Enrichment can come with practicing any culture. Moreover, she says:

I'm more comfortable …[with] who I am. I understand my background. I understand where I came from … and that has a lot to do with going back to India several times…. Finding out where I came from, where my parents grew up, um where my grandparents grew up so that identifies who I am. [And] … that's enriching…Also I'm able to share what I've learned from the western culture so I think I'm a blend of both. I have the

best of both worlds um versus just having the Hindu or versus just the Canadian.

(personal interview, January 17, 2015)

Her pluralistic adaptation can be seen as a rich cultural upbringing. Therefore, the same can apply to the next generation. Her nephews may feel enriched and happy with their cultural and/ or religious upbringing. Therefore, they should not feel a sense of loss. Usually we practice what we can do and what is necessary for personal joy and meaning. Her statement "I have the "best of both worlds" would insinuate that being a blend of Canadian and Indian culture is a great way to grow up. As both worlds have so much to offer versus just one culture.

Another participant spoke about the dangers of modernism. Bhavini argued among other Indians that culture cannot fit in a perfect box therefore being Indian, Trinidadian or Canadian cannot be defined. Culture is so complex that it is impossible to pinpoint. She understands that her identity is fluid and cannot remain static (Hall, 2014). Bhavini explains:

One person once told me …you are losing your Indian culture because you don't speak … an Indian language… I thought about that and I did respond and … get into an argument about it … Those things got me thinking you know like what is culture and how …[that is]… I would call [it] a very elitist way of thinking [about] culture. That it has to be within this box and that's Indian culture. Or within this box and that's Trinidadian Culture .I've experienced it here. I've been told here by people from Trinidad "You … don't know how to make that or you don't know what that is? What kind of Trinidadian are you?" It's … sort of putting who I am and what culture is in a box and I don't look at culture that way……that's why I said it's transformational. So yes I do

actually think about it in my life a lot because I experienced those kinds of definitions that don't change. (personal interview, January 17, 2015)

Bhavini's statement reflects the continuous on-going process of culture (Yon, 2000). Her response demonstrates the complex nature of cultural identity. Her colleagues have essentialized what it means to be Indian or Trinidadian. When Bhavini does not fit their definition of what is Indian or Trinidadian they "police her identity" (Yon, 2000) by saying "you don't know how to make that? What kind of Trinidadian are you" or "you're losing your Indian culture". Bhavini admits that these kinds of statements do affect her and she ponders about it. One's cultural identity is so complex that:

> there are also critical points of deep and significant *difference* which constitute 'what we really are'; or rather- since history has intervened - 'what we have become'. We cannot speak for very long, with any exactness, about 'one experience, one identity', without acknowledging its other side - the ruptures and discontinuities. (Hall, 2014, p.224)

Her grandparents migrating from India to Trinidad, her parents' upbringing in Trinidad and then their migration to Canada shifts and changes her cultural identity. Somewhere along this process an Indian language was not practiced and re-produced therefore lost. Some traditions were retained and others modified, replaced or lost. On the other side of the world, there were cultural shifts and changes in India during this period as well (Smedley, 1998). In Gupta's (1997) article, second generation participants stated the culture their parents left India with was what was practiced in America and passed onto them as authentic Indian values. However, when they visited India, Indian citizens had shed those cultural values and adapted to

new practices (western influence) that her parents shunned. Therefore "what is 'Indian', then, is not automatically what is preserved but what is constructed as preserved" (p. 580).

Liminal Space

Hall (2014) and Bhabha (2004) argue our identities do not fall into simple binaries, rather they fall within a liminal space (Bhabha, 2004) or along a scale (Hall, 2014). This space/ scale is where the complexities lie. Bhabha refers to Renee Green's work and describes her analogy of the stairway to demonstrate this liminal space.

> I used architecture literally as a reference, using the attic, the boiler room, and the
>
> stairwell to make associations between certain binary divisions such a higher and lower
>
> and heaven and hell. The stairwell became a liminal space, a pathway between the upper
>
> and lower areas, each of which was annotated with plaques referring to blackness and
>
> whiteness. (as cited in Bhabha, 2004, p. 5)

All of my respondents fell within a liminal space. Three of them indicated that they were confused at some point in their life and only one respondent indicated her stress of creating and living in a liminal space. However, all respondents presently stated that they are all happy within this liminal space. Two stated that they never had an issue with creating a liminal space.

Jagruthi demonstrates her experience of being exposed to two different cultures (European/ Canadian and Indian) and religions (Catholic and Hindu) growing up in Canada:

> When my mom and dad came here they had the traditional upbringing of being in
>
> Gujarat, India. So that was how we were brought up.   Then outside of the walls, when
>
> we left home everything was western [including] my school. [My brother and] I were the
>
> only South Asians and …we didn't have any Indian friends. They were all white. We

didn't have any Indian teachers they were all white. We had to fit into …the white culture, the western culture, the English culture. With their food, …their language, with the way they looked so we tried to be like them. We tried to be white outside. ..Whereas when I came home I was trying to be traditional. I was trying to be the "Indian" girl that my parents were trying to raise like how it was in India...That was a clash of two cultures or trying to identify both ways. (personal interview, January 17, 2015)

She was exposed to two different worlds growing up in Toronto, one that her parents grew up with and the other from school, peers and the media. She saw "white/ European" culture at the top of the stairwell and Indian culture at the bottom. She dealt with this by behaving "Indian" at home and trying to be "white/ European" at school. Her statement about not having any Indian teachers or friends illustrates her inability to belong / or relate to someone, therefore she "tried to be White" so she would belong and be accepted. This dual lifestyle had its challenges. She shares:

> It was a really tough way to grow up because you didn't know who you were. You didn't know which way to be. I think I was rebelling with the eastern culture because as a child you want to fit in, you want to have friends. … and do what they want to do ... For example, my friends were able to go out. They were allowed to be with boys. They [were] allowed to date. They would talk to their parents about boyfriends, sex [etc.] … Whereas when I was at home you weren't allowed to do any of that. It's a different environment so it was kind of hard growing up that way ... I think I was rebelling because I wanted to be like my friends. (personal interview, January 17, 2015)

There are challenges in constructing identities that simultaneously welcome and oppose elements of both their parents' and the dominant culture (Sundar, 2008). She saw the distinct differences of the two cultures and tried to create a space where she could live. She wanted to be like her western friends at school and tried to be an Indian girl at home. She states it was tough growing up and she was confused. This process can bring on acculturative stress which causes vulnerability, and low self-esteem (Samuel, 2005). Moreover, these negotiations have a significant impact on one's cultural identity. Handa (2003) states:

> Second generation youth in Canada are particularly troubling to these discourses because their presence points to the ruptures and contradictions between 'modern' and 'traditional.' Young South Asians struggle to fashion an identity that speaks to their experience of being South Asian in Canada. In doing so, they often unsettle and resist certain mainstream definitions of both South Asian and Canadian. (p. 5)

Their identity becomes complicated as it shifts and slides between the two. These experiences illustrate how identity is fluid, multidimensional and malleable (Sundar, 2008). Bhavini expresses her cultural identity with another outlook:

> I think having both cultures and also having a history of South Asian culture. It kind of gets me thinking I don't want to separate those things. I don't see culture as Trinidadian culture or Canadian Culture or South Asian culture. I kind of see it as culture transforming. Though I am Canadian, uh part of the Canadian Culture for me is actually Trinidadian culture and all these other cultures … I don't see them as distinct and in a way I think that it's a benefit it broadens my perspective of who we are. We are not in cultural silos. (personal interview, January 17, 2015)

As Bhavini mentioned earlier identity cannot be placed in a box. She moves away from looking at cultures as distinct and sees them as transforming and blending into one another. She says Canadian culture is in fact "other" cultures. This liminal space was constructed using "the continual fusing of existing, apparently fixed meanings of ethnicity, with interpretations contingent on the ways generations negotiate their place within cultures" (Gupta, 1997, p. 588). The intricate nature of living in this liminal space is slippery yet all the participants stated that they are happy within this liminal space.

Two participants stated that they never had an issue with creating a liminal space. For example, Mayur did not have to negotiate between two cultures as a matter of fact he did not even think about it. When asked if others made comments towards his liminal space he simply states:

I think it's important to accept more than one culture. I guess I'm very open- minded in accepting other cultures, plus Christmas who can say no to Christmas. I was very fortunate, my parents actually put up Christmas decorations and celebrated. (personal interview, January 10, 2015)

He stated there were no conflicts between the two cultures. He naturally accepted both cultures without thinking about it. This coincides with Calgar's research "a growing number of people define themselves in terms of multiple national attachments, and feel at ease with subjectivities that encompass plural and fluid cultural identities" (as cited by Sundar, 2008, p. 261).

Physical Space

The physical space one occupies influences one's upbringing and identity. This section will explore how identities shift when individuals occupy various spaces. This in turn informs

how their cultural identity is constructed. Five of my respondents made references to space and how they view and live in particular spaces. Some of them acknowledged the differences and impact of various spaces and how it affects them. In the next excerpt, Bhavini describes space as safe and comfortable versus unsafe and uncomfortable:

> You know [brown skin] makes me more conscious. It does actually affect me because being brown it's nice being in a city like Toronto but I wouldn't want to go and live in Northern Ontario as much as I love being out in the country … I wouldn't go and live in northern country even though I love that environment much more than the city environment…I would feel it's not safe um for me to be in [that space]. (Personal interview, January 17, 2015)

Bhavini is cognisant of the diversity in Toronto versus northern Ontario. Surprisingly she grew up in the country and enjoyed it but would not want to return there because it was a racialized space. This space is ingrained in her being (Henery, 2011). In Chapter 4 she describes a happy upbringing in northern Ontario despite the racial discourses she endured then came to live in Toronto and felt less racialized. Perhaps the increased visible minority population in Toronto allows her to be able to relate to "others" in Toronto. However, this diversity does not erase the fact that racial discourses are present in Toronto. For Bhavini she felt comfortable in her own skin being in a diverse city even though she was racialized in Toronto. However, my respondent Dante stated in Trinidad he was Indian and accepted. He felt safe but once he was in Toronto, Canada his Indian religion and culture was shunned. Toronto was a racialized space for him and Trinidad was a safe and comfortable space for him. This relation shows the complexity of space as racialized yet safe compared to northern Ontario being racialized and unsafe. For Dante, Trinidad was safe and Toronto was unsafe. Whereas for Bhavini Toronto was safer than

northern Ontario. This relation demonstrates her history of living in northern Ontario and the racial discourse attached to that space and its impact on her.

One's occupation of a physical space can be influential in one's identity formation. History informs the present space. In Canada, Indian names are considered foreign. For example, Jagruthi mentioned that her name is well known and accepted in India. However, in Canada people are not familiar with the name; they mispronounce it and/ or just shorten it. Jagruthi says:

> Well, I think your name is part of your identity. Jagruthi is the name my mom gave me …
> in the Hindu religion when you are naming children, my mom did the astrology of the
> time and date that you're born so I think that was a very uh thought out name and it had
> some meaning to my parents. So if I went to India they'd be okay to call me Jagruthi and
> your name is fine. But in Canada your name changes and you're becoming a little bit
> more westernized. ..You're trying to fit in with the western culture so your name is
> changing from Jagruthi to Jagu to Jag so slowly you are almost trying to fit in and
> making it easier for people to   understand who you are and so that's your name. [It] gets
> shorter and shorter … [and your] identity .. [becomes] more western. (personal
> interview, January 17, 2015)

Her identity is "made in relation to place and displacement" (Yon, 2000, p.1).   The recognition that her name would be fully accepted in India but not in Canada can be uncomfortable. Shariff's (2008) participant states "this is where we run the risk of disconnecting with our true identity and being comfortable with who we are and where we come from. It's often ignorance that forces us to do so" (p.76). The inability of her teachers and classmates to pronounce her

name caused her to shorten her name. Jagruthi is cognisant that her cultural identity is informed by the space she occupies.

Bhavini discusses the complexity of space, culture and identity and trying to connect the three in the next excerpt:

[After] I visited [India] and …came back [here] it was really important to wear certain clothing that I bought there. .. that trip … was kind of filling that part of me and that part of my identity ….My identity is …. so complex. It's not a constant thing because like at different times I want to wear a shalwar or I want to eat West Indian food. It's just kind of giving me that home feeling…[a] feeling of comfort. And that's when it's really complex… I have a connection with Trinidad. I have a connection with India because that's my heritage. [But]… growing up in Canada ...I'm not always part of those ….and I don't know how to explain it, it's fulfilling a part of me that doesn't always get expressed. (personal interview, January 17, 2015)

These "multiple place associations help shape identity and culture as experiences and those experiences also transcend understanding of culture and identity as fixed into …place" (Yon, 2000, p. 134). Bhavini is conscious that the space she is in does not make her feel Indian. In order to create an Indian space, she wears a shalwar that she personally bought from India to feel closer to India. For her, a piece of clothing that she purchased from India or eating West Indian food gives her a home feeling. She easily takes items that are originally from another country to Toronto to fulfill a part of her. Identities are "always partial, capable of telling us something but unable to tell us all" (Yon, 2000, p.72). This can be seen in Bhavini's attempt to articulate her cultural identity.

Religion and Space

All of the participants stated religion was an important part of their cultural identity. Three of them explicitly stated space affects their religious practices. Four stated that it was a struggle to celebrate religious holidays. Amanjot shares how physical space can affect religious views and its practices.

> [I] grew up in a bit of a different household. We follow Sikhism but my parents never grew up in Punjab. They grew up in the bigger cities like Delhi and Agra so they are more influenced towards Hinduism vs Sikhism. ..We kind of have Sikhism and Hinduism growing up and then somehow being in Canada you get the Christianity in it… My mom also taught in a convent when she was younger. ..We kind of have a bit of …three main religions growing up. Sikhism was a main one, then Hinduism and a bit of Christianity so we kind of have a bit of everything. [Religion is] important to an extent but its more about the concept of religion …The belief in the higher faith, doing good unto others as opposed to a specific religion. (personal interview, February 28, 2015)

This space impacted their identity and influenced their lifestyle. They lived in a predominantly Hindu state therefore had Hindu friends, and were influenced by their culture. Her father's upbringing did not allow for him to speak Punjabi because he did not grow up in Punjab. Their narrative is similar to Amanjot in that both have been exposed to cultures that their ancestors

were not. Their space influenced how they were brought up and this prompted Amanjot to say

"my parents didn't just believe in Sikhism like everyone" (personal interview, February 28,

2015). This diversity impacted their cultural identity and the subsequent generation.

All my respondents stated that celebrating their religious holidays was important to them.

However, four of them stated that it was a struggle to remember to celebrate religious holidays.

This forgetfulness can be because most Canadian calendars only have Christian holidays listed.

Additionally, Christian / Catholic holidays are easier to observe because it is a holiday for

everyone regardless of their religion and there is no need to go to work. Therefore, there is time

to prepare for the celebration and to spend time with family. In reflection Dante talks about the

advantages of having religious days off in Trinidad regardless of your religion. He illustrates:

In Trinidad I found it was easier to accept people of different cultures because we

celebrated [different] cultures.   We would celebrate Christian festivals, Muslims festival,

Hindu festival... for Diwali we had Muslims over at our house and for Eid [we went] over

[to] their house…You don't get that here …people were accepting so [you didn't] have to

be ashamed. ..Even though you had Muslims being the minority, their culture was still

respected and celebrated; they were not looked down upon. Whereas here [in Canada] it's

a little bit different. If you are not part of the … dominant [culture or religion] you are

sort of frowned upon. (personal interview, December 29, 2015)

He explains that every religion was acknowledged and celebrated regardless of your own

personal religious beliefs. Public holidays were allotted for all religions. Due to this, people

were educated of the various holidays. His response describes a possible utopia for creating a

Canadian mosaic framework. All of my respondents who were not Christian stated that they

celebrate Christmas, Easter etc. they can do this because public holidays are allotted for this. They are proud to celebrate these holidays. From the narratives shared there is an interest in celebrating non- dominant religious holidays. Currently Canadian employers allow you to take an unpaid day off of work to celebrate a non-public holiday. However, when it comes to finances one's economic situation comes into play: some cannot afford to take an unpaid day off. Also, these celebrations often times rely on other family and friends to take the day off too so a proper celebration can take place.

Perhaps in response to globalization and immigration a new framework is needed, as such a change can impact "race" relations positively. Papastergiadis (2000) says, "the identity of society has to reflect [the] process of mixture that emerges whenever two or more cultures meet" (p. 2). If all religious public holidays were banished from the calendar and individuals were allowed to choose a set amount of days they would like to take off for religious holidays in lieu of the Christian holidays, would Canadians choose not to take Christian holidays off and instead allot it to their non-Christian religious holidays? How would such a framework impact Canada and its citizens? Would this increase racism?

Intersections

My respondents alluded to the fact that one's cultural identity formation must take into consideration the intersection of an individual's gender, sexuality, and "race". Winant says,

> It is crucial to emphasize that race, class and gender are not fixed and discrete categories and that these 'regions' are by no means autonomous. They overlap, intersect and fuse with each other in countless ways... It is now widely agreed within critical race and

feminist theory that gender and race, along with other social categories including

sexuality, age, class…. are empirically inseparable. (as cited in Frost, 2010, p. 219)

Bhavini's passage explains how the intersection of sexuality, gender and "race" informs her

identity:

> I am part of the LGBQT community and I think there are times where I can be … with
>
> Trinidadians… but then there's real discrimination against people who are part of the
>
> LGBQT [community]. So … I'm not comfortable just staying and being in that
>
> environment. Though for that moment it's good to be there to hear writings from
>
> Trinidad. To just speak the language and those nuances of Trinidadian culture… but it's
>
> not a place where I can stay forever because it's not safe. ... [and I can't stay] in the
>
> LGBQT community all the time … either . .. Now it's changing because now there are
>
> more LGBQT people from India and from the Caribbean and differ parts of the world.
>
> (personal interview, January 17, 2015)

Her LGBQT and Trinidadian identity go hand in hand. They cannot be separated yet she

separates them in specific situations. In some situations, she says "I think when we have all

these identities we kind of separate them" (personal interview, January 17, 2015). This

separation occurred because she is part of the LGBQT community but her Trinidadian identity is

not accepted in this space and her LGBQT identity was not accepted within her Trinidadian

space. This separation constrains her identity thus limiting the information she can divulge and

/or represent in specific spaces. She feels the fragments of her identities not meshing well with

others.

Michael Fischer (1986) says "ethnicity is not something that is simply passed on from generation to generation, taught and learned… It is a matter of finding a voice or style that does not violate one's several components of identity" (p. 195-196). For Jagruthi culture cannot be reproduced without questions about how gender fits into her practice and intellect. It is difficult to continue a tradition that is considered sexist and disrupts your consciousness. Jagruthi shares a story of a tradition she deems sexist:

> There are some traditions that …do not really apply to how I live my life now. …we don't really celebrate [some holidays because] … it doesn't have much meaning to me because [I have] a change in attitude towards it. … Some of the Hindu celebrations don't have any meaning to me, so it's not close to my heart … For example, that would be *Bhai Bij* where the sisters honour the brother …… I find … the sister has to do something for the brother and the brother doesn't have to do anything for the sister so I think that's a little bit… unequal. (personal interview, January 17, 2015)

Jagruthi's gender is a critical aspect in forming her cultural identity. Her identity must be seen through her gender. Her awareness of sexism and her upbringing as a female interrupted her practice of re-producing *Bhai Bij*. She felt it was a sexist holiday and chose not to celebrate it even though it was part of her religion. Her sifting through cultural practices/ beliefs coincides with James' (2003) research. We can see how culture is an on -going process (Yon, 2000) that is "conflicting, contradictory, ambiguous ……[and] mediated by power (James, 2003, p.28)." Her current understanding of living in a patriarchal society mediates how she views *Bhai Bij*.

One of my male respondents discusses how gender bias in his culture affects his identity and the outlook of his children's cultural identity and their future. He describes the beliefs about the males and females in the Punjabi community:

[It's] a cultural thing. Because even with us with three girls everyone keeps telling us you should keep [having babies] …until you get a boy. A boy is always [the] more revered one. Everyone loves a boy. I mean I know one of my cousins has a boy … and anywhere he goes they call him "mumaredah" which means he's the mayor of the city. They won't say [that] to [a] girl. (personal interview, January 9, 2015)

In this excerpt he shows how boys are automatically the revered ones. Females do not get such special treatment and may have to work harder to earn recognition. He is constantly being told that he should keep having children until he has a male baby. This outlook depicts females as secondary to males and affects their identity. His girls will grow up knowing that they are not the revered one simply because of their sex. Furthermore, they are at a double disadvantage because their "race" and sex places them at a disadvantage in Canada.

Cultures and people have intermingled for centuries (Smedley, 1998). The influx of various cultures into Canada continuously changes the dynamics of its space. These cultures mix and continue to be fluid. The space we live in is "a dynamic field in which identities are in a constant state of interactions" (Papastergiadis, 2000, p. 4). Participants in this study discussed the tensions and ease of bringing fragments of cultures together in their lives. This liminal space is lived harmoniously and contentiously. Identities shift and slide within this space. Space, religion, culture, "race", sexuality, gender, etc. all mediate in the formation of one's cultural identity.

Chapter 6: Identity Discourses

Identities [are] made in relation to place and displacement, to community and to a sense of

dispersal, to "roots" as well as "routes" (Yon, 2000, p.1).

This chapter will illustrate how identities shift and slide among various identity

discourses. The "de-territorialization of culture" (Yon, 2000, p. 15) complicates the definition of

nationality. In the following excerpts, participants were asked what is Indian? and what is

Canadian? Their responses capture the ambiguity and ambivalence in defining a group of people.

Physical space complicates the definition of nationality among second generation Canadians.

Their responses require one to re-examine the politics of belonging" (Papastergiadis, 2000).

Bhavini was asked how she would define an Indian, Canadian and Trinidadian. In the

midst of her responses she becomes cognisant of the ambiguity in defining a group of people.

Below are examples of her answering these three questions and realizing the complex nature of

one's cultural identity. Bhavini was asked how she would define a Canadian and she said

"Really just somebody who is just living here. I can't define it culturally" (personal interview,

January 17, 2015). Then she was asked how she would define someone who is Trinidadian:

That's interesting (laughing) because if I say the same answer it doesn't work…That's

limiting someone who's born in Canada. But it's interesting for me to think about. Why

that differentiation ... I actually see the complexity of the Trinidadian identity. It's not

just somebody who dances to Soca. (personal interview, January 17, 2015)

Finally, she was asked how she would define someone that is Indian.

So really it's all a personal thing… I'm thinking about how I'm defining it [and] it's all

based on my experience. I'm defining it so that I am included in that definition. If I were

to say somebody who is living in Trinidad, that would exclude me. If I was to say

someone who [is] living or born in India that would exclude me from being Indian.

(personal interview, January 17, 2015)

The sequences of answers demonstrate the complexity of identity and the inability of defining

and categorizing a group. Bhavini identifies as Trinidadian, Canadian and Indian and her

responses to the questions illustrate the complexity of defining various nationalities so that she is

included (Yon, 2000). In responding she realized it was all "a personal thing". This response

shows the difficulty in categorizing people within nationalities. Globalization, diasporas,

cosmopolitism and migration complicate identity and the meaning of nationality (Yon, 2000).

Her response is a clear indication that:

Nationhood is not necessarily a …bounded entity nor a fixed… identity. Globalization,

diaspora and difference act in such ways that… subjects [such as Bhavini,] … transcend

the idea of an absolutist national identity and culture in favor of a set of experiences that

connect them. (Yon, 2000, p. 135)

The participants were asked the question; how would you define someone who is Indian? They were all over the map. Four of them stated it was up to the individual to define. Three explicitly stated you do not have to be born in India. Only one respondent stated the individual has to be born in India.

Four of my respondents said that being Indian can be anything. Amanjot shares her view of what an Indian is:

> I guess your [parents]???? You don't have to speak the language; you don't have to be religious. It's just … whatever way you feel connected to the community ...If that's your connection… It's different for every individual… For me personally it's a bit of everything. It's language, it's the family routes, it's through my husband. (personal interview, February 28, 2015)

Being Indian meant connecting in any way possible to what is important to you. For Amanjot it was through language, parents, her husband, and her heritage in India. These are all external methods of attaching oneself to an Indian identity. Amanjot also mentioned, in the interview, language may not be a connecting factor for some individuals and that is fine. It is up to the individual on how they feel and connect to being Indian, there is no real definition of what an Indian is. Being Indian is not innate (Smedley, 1998). Individuals take fragments from their environment, their upbringing, knowledge and interactions with others to create their own Indian definitions. Tensions arise when an individual's definition differs from one another. One must be cognisant in understanding that defining Indian is just as complex as defining Canadian or any other nationality.

Interestingly, one of my respondents Jagruthi who was born in India was asked how do you define an Indian. Jagruthi said, "[Someone] born in India" (personal interview, January 17, 2015). Then she followed her initial answer with:

> You can't define anyone on the basis of what they look like. I mean if you see someone in a social setting like a temple or mosque then you know they are Indian. Maybe, but then, there are … even white people who … might change their religion to be a Hindu or Muslim. (personal interview, January 17, 2015)

Jagruthi was born in India and defined being Indian as such. She demonstrates that skin colour cannot solely distinguish a racial or religious group. She insinuates that religion can be taken on by anyone. She realizes the fluidity of a nationality and/ or religion when she says "I think it's hard unless you talk to the person and find out what their background is" (personal interview, January 17, 2015). She realizes that being Muslim or Hindu is not innate anyone can take on that religion. As a result, you have to communicate with the individual to determine their background. She then states, "But I think at first assumption if someone sees someone with Indian clothing whose brown they think they're Indian right off the bat" (personal interview, January 17, 2015). This conflictual answer demonstrates the dynamics of one's cultural identity. She recognizes the racist discourse that perpetuates in society. She understands the reality that people distinguish an Indian based on signifiers such as skin colour, clothing, and occupation of a space (mosque). Jagruthi is aware of the essentialist notions people have about identities and sometimes catches herself in this essentialist discourse when she herself knows that identity is fluid. She recognizes and lives with the contradictions of identity (Yon, 2000).

When participants were asked, "What do others think of Indians?" They had mixed reviews of how Indians are portrayed in society. There were a few common themes: one participant said people do not think about Indians, four respondents said Indians are known to be smelly, three said they are good with mathematics, two stated males are known to be aggressive in response to the high incidence of rapes in India and two stated Indians are known to be rude.

The next excerpt describes why Bhavini said people do not think about Indians:

> [Indians are seen as] poor … [and] … dirty… [and] subdued… They can also see India as a developing country… [and] technologically savvy...I don't think they see how diverse it is. I don't even think a lot of people even think about [India]. People are more familiar with Africans and… Asians (I mean people from China) …… When the movie *Slumdog Millionaire* [came out] then I saw people wanting to find out more about India. It's interesting I don't think people think a lot about what is an Indian. Just that India is this place there… with so much poverty…They don't really see the potential and the richness of the country but I think they are starting to see it. Some people at my work just see India as the enemy because a lot of our jobs here are getting outsourced to Indians so they are the "other." Instead of seeing that there are people there who need jobs and they need to be paid well too. (personal interview, January 17, 2015)

Her response indicates that Indians are invisible and are not thought of. However, when *Slumdog Millionaire* (a movie about a poor villager's life in India) came out people were exposed to India and its poverty. Some people at her work see the geographical location, India, as the enemy because their jobs are outsourced there. She makes an interesting point, about how her co-workers see Indians negatively because they are taking their jobs. However, Bhavini

states they have to be cognisant that people in India are humans like them and they need jobs too.

Reflecting upon Yon's (2000) research he says people like having a multicultural society as long

as it does not negatively impact them. For example, people are fine with having ethnic

restaurants and entertainment because it is fun and they are enjoying this. However, when they

are negatively impacted by lack of employment opportunities due to competition of an

immigrant population then they begin to resent South Asians/ immigrants. However, they too

were immigrants who are now perceived as "non- immigrants" and "real Canadians". This

resentment may be why negative stereotypes were introduced to claim power and why they

continue to persist. In the following passage Jagruthi shares her mixed views of how others

depict Indians:

> Someone who has stereotypes of what an Indian person is like they might say, they smell
>
> like curry… she has long hair, … she's wearing a bindi, and she must be praying too
>
> many gods… They want to be business major[s] … They are good at math [and] business
>
> ….I think they are hardworking. (personal interview, January 17, 2015)

Some of these findings coincide with my literature review. Rajiva's (2006) research indicates

South Asians are still seen as invisible, passive, docile, illiterate, smelly, fertile, pitiful, and

disgusting. Aujla (2000) says historical thoughts, stereotypes, opinions and racism of and

towards formerly colonized groups still exist in today's society but in a different form. Aujla

(2000) illustrates this by stating that during the early 1900s the Canadian state dictated where

South Asians could work and live. They were not able to vote until 1947. This power dynamic

affected their "race". This classification is dangerous because it introduces a system of power

and exclusion (Hall, 1997). South Asians were and still are not equal to "whites/ Europeans".

This socio- historical construction influences the subjectivities one has when they see South

Asians. On a positive note, stereotypes do change. They are not always permanent (Hall, 1997).

"Race" is constantly changing and shifting (Hall, 1997) and can mean many things (Yon, 2000).

From this, one can see that it is not biological at all (Hall, 1997).

In the early twentieth century, the media portrayed Sikh males as violent and dangerous

to the nation therefore all South Asians males were viewed as dangerous and unwanted (Aujla,

2000). This image of South Asians still pervades and permeates today's society. In response to

recent events that occurred in India one of which, involving a woman who was gang raped for

being out late at night. Two participants stated: "Men are seen as aggressors and rapists"

(personal interview, Amanjot, February 28, 2015). The media coverage on December 2012

stated "India is also a patriarchal society where violence against women is rooted in age-old

beliefs that they are not equal to men" (Toronto Star, 2012). Events that take place across the

globe impact the South Asian diaspora in Canada. Technology brings "there" over "here"

instantaneously (Norquay, 2000). These monolithic notions negatively impact the South Asian

diaspora as males are viewed as aggressors and rapists by others due to events that took place in

India. Lastly, two participants stated Indians are portrayed as rude. Dante relays:

> They just assume that Indian people don't say thank you or excuse me. I don't know if
>
> it's true or not. But I'm Indian and I always say excuse me and thank you, and I hold the
>
> door for [people]. Again I can't speak for [others] but I do it…. I know Indians who do it
>
> but I don't know. (personal interview, December 29, 2014)

Here Dante displays his frustration with the stereotypes associated with being Indian. He is

Indian and is polite and courteous towards others. He also states he knows other Indians who are

courteous to back up his claim. However, he finishes his sentence with "I don't know." This is

disturbing because he does not know why Indians are described as rude and appears defeated by this powerful stereotype.

South Asian participants in Frost's (2010) research also stated that when an individual or group of South Asians behave inappropriately it reflects poorly on all South Asians. This stereotype then internalises in oneself and Indians become more cautious of their behaviour so the general public will see Indians as good.   This was reflected in my literature review. A participant in Frost's (2010) article took it upon himself to be politer when he was in front of "white/ European" people in an effort to rectify how South Asians were viewed. He wanted "white/ European" people to know that not all "brown" people were violent and mean (Frost, 2010). For individuals to bear that burden is stressful and affects how they are perceived, thus affecting their identity. We internalize it and think from it. In Riggs (1986) film *Ethnic Notions*, Christian says "It has become a part of our psyche. It's a real indication that one of the best ways of maintaining a system of oppression has to do with the psychological control of people."

What is Canadian?

The question of what is Canadian is indeed a contested question filled with ambiguity from the "others" perspective and the others perspective. Interestingly, four of my respondents who answered the question also made note of how others (the dominant "race") see Canadians in their answer. This was not the case when asked what is Indian. For example, when Dante was asked what is Canadian? He responded:

> I think a Canadian is anybody that lives in Canada… but I know my view is not the view
> that [other] people share. I think they would define a Canadian as someone who
> celebrates Christmas [and] who doesn't really follow their own culture or religion. A lot

of the time, I hear from the dominant culture, "oh you're living in Canada now. You

should follow Canadian customs," even though [they] …don't know what Canadian

customs are. You don't really have any Canadian customs if you think about it…Which

is wrong because Canada is supposed to be a mosaic which ...[means]…being their

culture doesn't mean they are not Canadian but the dominant culture feels that way.

(personal interview, December 29, 2014)

Although Dante describes himself as Canadian, he is not able to answer the question without

including how "white/ European" Canadians would disagree with him. James' (2010) research

mirrors Dante's view. He states that the "general feeling in Canada has been- and continues to

be – that immigrants should assimilate or be made to assimilate 'into Canadian culture'" (p.185).

For example, his participants felt they should not speak foreign languages or wear traditional

clothes at all. This statement applies to the second generation Canadians because some of them

speak a second language and wear traditional clothing. Overall they practice a similar culture of

their elders. Yon (2000) says, the nation is imagined as having a dominant Canadian culture

however when this dominant culture is a "collection of differences", others feel there is a sense

of erosion and feel threatened (p.38-39). As a result, Canadian culture is undeniably seen as

"white/ European culture (James, 2010, p.30). Furthermore, Dante validates this reality by

saying when people ask him where are you from? He says: "I'm Canadian" (personal interview,

December 29, 2014). Then they respond "[but where are your] ancestors from? Where are your

parents from?" Dante concludes, "So they don't accept the fact that I'm Canadian" (personal

interview, December 29, 2014). This racist discourse projects the knowledge that "when you see

someone "white" you automatically assume they are Canadian. And they don't assume [that

when they see me]." (Dante, personal interview, December 29, 2014).

These narratives correspond with my literature review. Multigenerational South Asians have learned that they are not really Canadian. People who were born /raised in Canada and are of colour have learned that they cannot say they are Canadian without someone saying "but where are you really from?" (Samuel, 2005; James, 2003; Aujla, 2000; Norquay, 2000). This question instantly positions them as an outsider (James, 2003). This is the result of others positioning you as a non-Canadian even though Dante was born in Canada. Dante is cognisant of the racist views others hold and tries not to let it persuade him from the truth. Perhaps this was the reason three of my respondents could not answer the question without including how others view Canadians in their answer. This double consciousness (Dubois 1989) controls their discourse and impacts their view. Racist discourse is so powerful that one cannot say one's own truth/ belief without acknowledging the other side.

None of the respondents defined Canadian as "white/ European" however, three of the respondents were aware that the dominant culture sees Canadians as "white/ European". This racist discourse is alive and powerful and it continues to dominate space and other's psyches. Regardless, five of my respondents explicitly stated that Canadians can be of any "race" and/ or ethnicity, religion, faith etc. Interestingly, two participants had two different categories for Canadian. For example, when Mayur was asked what is Canadian? Mayur inquired: "Do you mean real full Canadian or just Canadian" (personal interview, January, 2015). Mayur's definition of a full real Canadian is someone who has been in Canada for several generations and abandoned their roots. A Canadian is someone who observes the Canadian culture and another culture in his case, the Indian culture. Interestingly Jagruthi was asked what is a Canadian? She said: "Canadian meaning Canadian Citizen? or Canadian [as in] born in Canada?" (personal

interview, January 17, 2015). These responses demonstrate that from the participants'

perspectives there are different types of Canadians. See her response below:

> Nobody is really Canadian other than our Aboriginal people. I think everybody is an
>
> immigrant from different parts of the world, but when you see somebody … you see their
>
> skin colour. That's the first thing that you see … whether they are Asian, Black, South
>
> Asian, White you can't tell that they… [were] born in Canada … But then people
>
> always ask you where are you from. ..For example, my sister was born in Canada. But
>
> she has the same complexion as my nephews [and] they were born in Canada. But when
>
> … people [see them] they might think they are from a different country but they are
>
> actually [from] Canada. They're born in Canada. It would be hard to tell. (personal
>
> interview, January 17, 2015)

The ambivalence in the answer to the question what is Canadian, is filled with tension. You

cannot distinguish a Canadian by looking at them because they have different skin colours and

tones. However, she notes brown skin colour can also be attributed to being another nationality.

Her response indicates that skin colour cannot define a Canadian. However, someone born in

Canada is indeed Canadian. Furthermore, she states, we are all immigrants except for First

Nations, Metis and/ or Inuit people. The four different categories that they mentioned

demonstrate that a real full Canadian is someone who has been in Canada for several

generations. For Jagruthi, a real Canadian is a First Nations, Metis and/ or Inuit person.

According to Amanjot, Canadians are visible minorities and "white/ European" people.

Her definition of Canadian mirrors this definition:

Someone who embraces, not necessarily born here, differences in Canada [and] different religions. And [they are] open to experiencing them….takes pride in celebrating July 1st so things like that. They're happy to be in this country. Just being grateful to be in a country where you're free to make your own choice. (personal interview, February 2014)

Amanjot's response does not include how others would respond. Her definition mirrors the definition of a multicultural Canada (Sundar, 2008). If we juxtapose Dante and Amanjot's response a stark contrast can be seen. Dante and Amanjot had two conflicted definitions of what a Canadian is. She believes anyone who lives in Canada and embraces diversity can be Canadian regardless of their "race". Dante concurs however, for him, others viewpoint interferes with his definition and he cannot ignore its powerful discourse. Their contrast could be due to their age difference, their environment and/ or their experiences and outlook of the world.

Participants were asked, how do other people view Canadians. All the responses were positive and were similar to one another: four participants stated Canada is seen as positive and friendly and two stated that Canadians are not perceived as a diverse country. When Mayur was asked how others view Canadians. He relays:

Canada is the friendly country that doesn't really do anything; they don't have any arguments with anyone. Drink maple syrup from the bottle and they say "eh" after every sentence. I guess that's the perception you get from around the world. (personal interview, January, 2015)

Amanjot shares:

[Canadians are seen] more as neutrality, more open- minded we're happy go lucky we say "eh" a lot I guess. People travel and they're happy to see Canadians even in the

[United] States Canadians are [seen as] nice people and just [people are] friendly so

nothing really negative [and] no bad connotations (personal interview, February 28,

2015).

Two participants stated Canada is not depicted as diverse. They feel Canada is seen as a

homogenous country. For example, Bhavini says "I don't think the average person out there

views Canada as being as diverse as we are ….I think now people are seeing … races, cultures

representing Canada"   (personal interview, January 17, 2015).

All of my participants had favourable views of being Canadian compared to being Indian.

Participants said Canadians have a good reputation around the world.

My literature review revealed that "Canada is imagined as kind, caring, and

accommodating" (Yon, 2000, p.127). Some of the signifiers associated with being Canadian

were having white skin, no culture, no accent, eating Canadian food (James, 2003), enjoying

winter, playing hockey and drinking beer (Rajiva, 2006). These signifiers further complicate the

term "Canadian." Some of Rajiva's (2006) participants did not have an accent, ate Canadian

food, enjoyed winter and drinking beer etc. but were not seen as Canadian. My participants did

not list the signifiers above. However, a few of my participants alluded to Canadians having

white skin and no culture. However, "white/ Europeans" do have culture.

The socio-historical construction of South Asians from the past is still present in today's

society. The stereotypes and signifiers attached to South Asian are dangerous. It misrepresents a

heterogeneous group as a homogenous group. Participants demonstrated the unfairness of

people judging them based on their ethnicity. This socio- historical construction of South Asians

affects their cultural identity formation.

What it means to be Indian is a "contested terrain" (Gupta, 1997). Participant responses ranged from birthplace to however you connect to being Indian to heritage. Transnationalism complicates the notion of belonging. Therefore, the social constructions people make of what is Indian is indeed Indian to my respondents. Participants demonstrated that being Indian as with being Canadian, is not innate.

The term Canadian had many definitions from birth, citizenship, First Nations, Metis, Inuits, to "white/ Europeans" to ethnic minorities. Categories were formed within this definition such as full real Canadian to just Canadian. The definitions were loose and varied by individuals. Overall, participants stated Canadians were diverse in ethnicities even though others see Canadians as "white/Europeans". All of my participants were Canadian and identified as such. Some of them mentioned that others would not share their definition of Canadians because of their "race". Their view is supported by my research and by other scholars (James, 2003; Yon, 2000; Rajiva, 2006; Norquay, 2000).

Chapter 7: Conclusions and Implications

This study explores how second generation Canadians of South Asian descent construct their cultural identities. It examines some of the factors that play a role in constructing one's cultural identity. The data suggests that "race" relations, culture and diaspora play an integral role in the formation of one's cultural identity. "Race" is the precursor in the boundary events that "other" my participants. Due to this, they are forced to position and re-position their cultural identity in various spaces and contexts. My data describes the subordination, self-consciousness, turmoil and lack of confidence that participants experience as a result of being labelled as inferior. The literature review analyzes these issues as well and discusses the need for stress management, counsellors and educators to hone in on them (Shariff, 2008; Samuel, 2005). This data needs to be taken seriously as many of my participants are depicted as inferior to the dominant "race" in school, employment and in other social settings.

The literature review and my findings discuss the fluidity in culture. The literature review (Gupta, 1997; Samuel, 2005; Sundar, 2008) reveals that participants created a liminal

space that was filled with ambivalence. My data supports these findings. My participants described the complexity of creating a liminal space. The merging of one or two cultures was seen as advantageous as some of my participants expressed feeling educated of the various cultures that existed in the world. Simultaneously, some described this liminal space as stressful because of the issues pertaining to authenticity, loss of traditions/ culture and the ridicule that came with their "race".

The intersection of one's sexuality, gender and "race" are all important aspects to consider in the shaping of cultural identity. Some of the studies in my literature review discussed the intersection of gender and "race" (Gupta, 1997; Frost, 2010; James, 2003). For instance, they stated females were given the onus of practicing the culture. A few of my participants acknowledged similar discrepancies. For example, they stated males and females were treated unequally thus affecting their cultural identity as a whole.

Transnationalism and globalization illustrates the fluidity of national and cultural identity. The literature review and my data reveal that it is difficult to discern what is Canadian culture, Trinidadian culture and Indian culture (Gupta, 1997; Yon, 2000). The question of what it means to be Canadian and/ or Indian is difficult to define as many factors impact it. Overall, my participants revealed being Indian and/ or Canadian is based upon the individual's construction of it.

There are some limitations that may have affected my findings. I had six participants, considered to be a small sample compared to the studies listed in my literature review. I conducted one interview with each participant and followed up with a select few participants to ask questions for clarity. I would have liked to meet with the participants a second time to get a

better understanding of their lives and to ask questions about how the intersection of class, "race", sexuality, age, etc. informed their cultural identity. Perhaps conducting a case study with all my participants would have provided me with this depth. Also, I would have liked to interview third generation Canadians to gain an understanding of how they may or may not differ from first and second generation Canadians. This information would have been useful to researchers in understanding cultural identity formation from one generation to another. Moreover, to gain better insight into how future generations will construct their cultural identity and the psychological effects associated with it.

Two of my participants, Mayur and Amanjot, were anomalies in my study. They indicated boundary events and the creation of liminal space did not affect them. The discussion of cultural identity was not stressful for them. They lived life without any racial stress even though they experienced racism. I did not know these two participants and this may have impacted how much information they were willing to divulge to me. Or perhaps their age, life experiences, or personality may have played a role in their responses. It is possible the generation they grew up in impacted their views, if this was the case, then it is important to look at what changes took place from their generation to the previous generation.

It would have been beneficial to ask participants more "race" specific questions. For instance: how they feel about racism, discrimination, how to alleviate racism, and what strategies could have been used to reduce their stress and move through its negative consequences throughout life. Also, to get a better understanding of how their background (class, sexuality, age etc.) impacts their cultural identity. For future studies, it would be advantageous to interview at least ten people to gain a broader perspective on the factors that inform one's cultural identity. Yet this number is small enough to juxtapose the narratives among various themes that arise.

This study demonstrates the complexity and fluidity of culture and cultural identity. This needs to be further researched and understood to help people understand cultural identity and its role in their lives. This research will help counsellors and educators understand the realities of creating a liminal space, the long- term psychological impact of boundary events, monolithism and stereotypes. Educators can use this study to develop a curriculum for students to demonstrate how power is used to differentiate groups of people. We must find a way to equal the playing field between racialized and non-racialized people.

Educators need to be aware of the obstacles racialized people face as a child and how it follows them into adulthood. Measures need to be taken so students are seen as a whole. Students should not just see themselves just as a "race". It is important to understand how the construction of race and culture affect the diaspora. We need to tread carefully with how Canada's multiculturalism impacts students and society. On one hand it exposes people of various foods, cultures, clothing, dresses, religions simultaneously it maximizes their differences and categorizes groups of people. We need to view students as an individual and respect and value their lifestyle. Students should be taught to be accepting of themselves and to know that their "race" cannot define them. Students should be exposed to the social construct of "race", therefore should learn that they cannot use "race" to learn /know/ understand a person.

Lessons in attributing traits, dispositions and physical characteristics to particular "races" need to be de- bunked. Analyzing and de-constructing media stories, film, books and daily conversations of how "race" and racism operates in their world can aid in decreasing monolithic viewpoints. Discussing and exploring how double consciousness works in their lives should be examined. These lessons are needed in order to empower all students. Educators must read scholarly literature relating to "race" and cultural identity. The data gathered for my paper can

aid and facilitate the process of understanding double consciousness, monolithism, boundary events etc. My paper exposes the complexity of cultural identity which will benefit educators and psychologists and counsellors.

I learned "race" is a socio- historical construct. This construct is ingrained into society and its way of life. Its construction does not hold any truth about "race" and what it means to be a specific "race". Humans are unique and should be treated as such. This research reveals that people fixate on stereotypes and physical attributes to understand and position "races". Hall (1997) provides some insight into this and says we feel safe and secure to be able to organize and categorize people because it gives us an understanding of an individual. We want a guarantee of knowing who someone is. The problem with the 'politics without guarantee' (Hall 1997) is that an individual's cultural identity is so complex that we cannot categorize people based on their nationality, "race", ethnicity, skin colour, or their migratory route. Yet our history has shown all the signifiers that we attach to a "race" is in our subjectivities (p.2-5). My data coupled with the literature review demonstrates the fluidity of cultural identities among second generation Canadians. There are many factors to consider about how one shapes their cultural identity. Moreover, individuals continuously re-position themselves in respect to time and space. This makes it evident that cultural identity is forever changing and cannot remain static. Being cognisant of this may help individuals with the impact of continuously positioning and re-positioning themselves and understanding how signifiers, subjectivities, labels operate within society and themselves.

Appendix A: Interview Questions

I have adapted some of the questions from Jeffrey Reitz' (2009) article.

Where were you born? Your parents? Ancestors?

What are the ethnic or cultural origins of your ancestors? (Reitz 25)

What are the ethnic or cultural origins of your parents? (Reitz 25) What countries are you a citizen of?

Are you religious? What is your religion? How important is religion to you? (Reitz 25)

What is your ethnic or cultural identity? How important is this to you? (Reitz 25)

How important is it for you to carry on customs and traditions, such as holidays and celebrations, food, clothing and art? (Reitz 25)

How many of your friends have the same ancestry as you? (Reitz 25)

Do you purposefully seek out friends from specific ancestry origins? Why? (Reitz 25)

Have you ever experienced discrimination or been treated unfairly by others in Canada because of your ethnicity, culture, race, skin colour, language, or religion? ((Reitz 25) Explain.

What does cultural identity mean to you?

How would you define someone who is Indian?

How would you define someone who is Canadian?

How do you think others view Indians? Explain. Can you give me some details/examples?

How do you think others view Canadians? Explain. Can you give me some details/examples?

Do you and your family share the same cultural values? Explain?

Have you noticed any shifts in your cultural identity throughout your life? Why might this be?

Is there anything else you would like to add?

Do you have any other questions?

References

Aujla, A. (2000). Others in their own land: Second generation South Asian Canadian women, racism, and the persistence of colonial discourse. *Canadian Woman Studies, 20*(2), 41-47.

Aulakh, Raveena. (December 19, 2012). Gang rape sparks public fury in India, but violence against women is common. Toronto Star. Retrieved from http://www.thestar.com/news /world/2012/12/19/gang_rape_sparks_public_fury_in_india_but_violence_against_women _is_common.html

Aycan, Z., & Kanungo, R. N. (1998). Impact of acculturation on socialization beliefs and behavioral occurrences among Indo-Canadian immigrants. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies, 29*(3), 451-467.

Beharry, P., & Crozier, S. (2008). Using phenomenology to understand experiences of racism for second-generation South Asian women. *Canadian Journal of Counselling, 42*(4), 262-277.

Bhabha, H. K. (2004). *The location of culture*. London: Routledge.

Bhatia, Sunil. (2007). American Karma. New York and London: New York University Press.

Bhatia, S., & Ram, A. (2009). Theorizing identity in transnational and diaspora cultures: A critical approach to acculturation. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 33*(2), 140-149.

Boyle, D. (Director) & Tandan, L., (Co-Director). (2009). *Slumdog millionaire* [Motion Picture]. Beverly Hills, Calif: 20th Century Fox Home Entertainment.

Burke, Peter & Stets, Jan E., (2003). A sociological approach to self and identity. In Mark R. Leary, June Price Tangney (Eds), *Handbook of self and identity* (p. 128-152). New York: Guilford Press.

Carroll, James & Morrell, Patricia (2010). Conducting Educational Research. Portland, Oregon: Sense Publishers.CBC News. (2015, 11, 19). Muslim women accosted on TTC, racist graffiti scrawled on GO train. *CBC News*. Retrieved from http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/muslim-women-subway-slurs-1.3326281 2015 November 19

Dawn.com (2015, 11, 23). Paris attacks aftermath: UK's Muslim women bear the brunt as hate crimes jump 300pc. *Dawn News.* Retrieved from http://www.dawn.com/news/1221699

Dahlburg, John-Thor. (2015,12,31). 10th suspect arrested in Paris attacks probe. *The Star* Retrieved from http://www.thestar.com/news/world/2015/12/31/10th-suspect-arrested-in-paris-attacks-probe.html

Derrida, Jacques. (1982). Differance. Northwestern University Press. Retrieved from http://projectlamar.com/media/Derrida-Differance.pdf

Dion, K. K., & Dion, K. L. (March 2004). Gender, immigrant generation, and ethnocultural identity. *Sex Roles, 50* (5/6), 347-355.

Dubois, W.E.B. (1989). *The Souls of Black Folk*. U.S.A: Penguin Books.

Frantz, Fanon. (1992). The Fact of Blackness. In Donald , James and Rattansi. Ali (eds). *Race,*

   culture and difference. London: Sage Publications in association with the Open University.

Finn, R. L. (2011). Surveillance staring: Race and the everyday surveillance of South Asian

   women after 9/11. *Surveillance & Society, 8*(4), 413-426.

Fischer, Michael. (1986). Ethnicity and the Post- Modern Arts of Memory. In James Clifford and

   George E. Marcus (Eds), *Writing culture: the poetics and politics of Ethnography : a School*

   of American Research Advanced (p. 194-233). Berkeley: University of California Press.

Frost, H. (2010). Being "Brown" in a Canadian suburb. *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee*

   Studies, 8(2), 212-232.

Ghosh, S. (2013). 'Am I a South Asian, really?' constructing 'South Asians' in Canada and being

   South Asian in Toronto. *South Asian Diaspora, 5*(1), 35-55.

Gupta, M. D. (1997). 'What is Indian about you?': A gendered transitional approach to

   ethnicity. *Gender & Society, 11*, 572+.

Hall, Stuart (Interviewee) & Jhally, Sut (Interviewer). (1997). *Race, the floating signifier*

   [Interview/ Lecture Transcript]. Retrieved from Media Education Foundation Web site:

   http://www.mediaed.org/assets/products/407/transcript_407.pdf

Hall, S. (2014). *Cultural identity and diaspora.* Retrieved April 1

http://www.unipa.it/~michele.cometa/hall_cultural_identity.pdf

Handa, A. (2003). *Of silk saris and mini-skirts: South Asian girls walk the tightrope of culture*.

Toronto: Women's Press.

Henery, Celeste S. (2011). Where they Walk: What Aging Black Women's Geographies Tell of

Race, Gender, Space and Social Transformation in Brazil. *Cultural Dynamics*, 23(2), 85-106

James, C. (c2003). *Seeing ourselves: Exploring ethnicity, race and culture* (3rd ed.). Toronto:

Thompson Educational.

James, C. (c2010). *Seeing ourselves: Exploring ethnicity, race and culture* (4th ed. ed.). Toronto:

Thompson Educational.

James, C. (c2005). *Possibilities and limitations: multicultural policies and programs in Canada.*

Halifax, N.S. : Fernwood.

Kagawa-Singer, M and R.C Chung. (1994). A Paradigm for Culturally- based Care in Ethnic

Minority Population. *Journal of Community Psychology*.22:192-208.

Kalbach, Madeline A. (2003). The intergenerational transfer of ethnic identity in Canada at the

turn of the twenty-first century. *Canadian Ethnic Studies***.**35.1 (2003): 135-148.

Kallen, Evelyn. (1995). *Ethnicity and human rights in Canada*. Toronto : Oxford University

Press.

Kurian, G.,(1991). South Asians in Canada. *International Migration,* 29(3),421-433

Lichtman, Marilyn. (2006). Qualitative Research in Education. United States of America: Sage

  Publications.

Mahtani, Minelle. (2001). Representing Minorities: Canadian media and minority identities.

  Canadian Ethnic Studies Journal, 33(3), 99.

McTiernan, John (Director). (1988). *Die Hard* [motion picture]. United States: Twentieth

  Century Fox.

McWhorter, Ladelle (2004). Sex, Race, and Biopower: A Foucauldian Genealogy. *Hypatia* 19

  (3).

Merriam, S. B. (c2002). *Qualitative research in practice: Examples for discussion and

  analysis* (1st ed. ed.). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Moosavinia, S. R., Niazi, N., & Ghaforian, A. (2011). Edward Said's Orientalism and the Study

  of the Self and the Other in Orwell's Burmese Days. *Studies in Literature and Language*,

  2(1), 103.

Norquay, N. (2000). 'Where is here?' . *Pedagogy, Culture & Society,* 8(1), 7-21.

Papastergiadis, N. (1998). *Dialouges in the Diasporas*. London: Rivers Oram Press.

Papastergiadis, N. (2000). *Introduction: The turbulence of migration*. London: Polity Press.

Rajiva, M. (2006). Brown girls, white worlds: Adolescence and the making of racialized
selves. *The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, 43*, 165+.

Ralson, H. (1997). Arranged, 'semi-arranged' and 'love' marriages among South Asian immigrant
women in the diaspora and their non-migrant sisters in India and Fiji: A comparative
study. *International Journal of Sociology of the Family, 27*(2), 43-68.

Reitz, J. (2009) *Multiculturalism and social cohesion: Potentials and challenges of diversity.* In
Reitz J. G. (Ed.), [Dordrecht]: Springer.

Riggs, Marlon (Interviewer & Director) & Christian, Barbara (Interviewee). (1986).   *Ethnic
Notions.* Interview Transcript. Retreived from
https://kathmanduk2.wordpress.com/2008/06/24/marlon-riggss-ethnic-notions-transcript/

Samuel, E. (2005). Acculturative stress and identity crisis: South Asians in Canadian
Academe. *Asian Journal of Social Science, 33*(2), 268-294.

Scarry, Elaine. (1998). "The difficulty of Imaging Other Persons," in The Handbook of
Interethnic Coexistence, ed. Eugene Weiner, New York: Continuum Publishing, p 40-62.

Shariff, F. D. (2008). The Liminality of Culture: Second Generation South Asian Canadian
Identity and the Potential for Postcolonial Texts. *Journal of Teaching and Learning*, 5(2),
67-80.

Smedley, Audrey (1998). "Race" and the Construction of Human Identity. *American Anthropologist, 100*(3), 690-702.

Smedley, Audrey (1993). Race in North America: origin and evolution of a worldview. Boulder: Westview Press.

Sodhi, P. (2008). Bicultural identity formation of second-generation Indo-Canadians. *Canadian Ethnic Studies, 40*(2), 187-199.

Statistics Canada (2006). Census of Population. Retrieved from http://www.statcan.gc.ca/tables-tableaux/sum-som/l01/cst01/demo53c-eng.htm

Sundar, P. (2008). To "Brown it up" or to "Bring down the brown": Identity and strategy in second-generation, South Asian-Canadian youth. *Journal of Ethnic and Cultural Diversity in Social Work, 17*(3), 251-278.

Taylor, D., & Usborne, E. (2010). When I know who "We" are, I can be "Me": The primary role of cultural identity clarity for psychological well-being. *Transcultural Psychiatry, 47*(1), 93- 111.

Tee, Karen Ai-Lyn. (1996). *Between Two Cultures: Exploring The Voices of First and Second Generation South Asian Women.* (PhD, Simon Fraser University).1-253.

Wolf, Eric R.. (1994). Perilous Ideas: Race, Culture, People. *Current Anthropology*, 35 (1), 1-12.

Yon, D. A. (c2000). *Elusive Culture: Schooling, race, and identity in global times*. Albany,

N.Y.: SUNY Press.